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THE
RELIGIOUS OPINIONS AND CHARACTER

OF

WASHINGTON.

BY E. C. M'GUIRE.

"A CHRISTIAN is the highest style of man." . . . YOUNG.



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P R E F A C E.

THE author would here give a brief explanation of the motives which have led him to engage in the work now submitted to the public.

The character of Washington, on which time has fixed its authentic and unequivocal seal, is justly considered the property of his country, and, in a measure, of the civilized world. They may fairly claim him as their own, for whom, when living, he hazarded his all—his honour, fortune, and life! for whom he ever cherished anxious cares—for whom he toiled and suffered. Nor are *they* without a title, who, partaking of our common nature, shared his philanthropic sympathies, and earnest prayers.

Such a reputation is a treasure to mankind which never can be told. Blessings innumerable descend upon the favoured people who rest under its shadow. It sheds upon them peace, security, and credit. They shine in its light, and derive from it, directly and indirectly, many eminent advantages.

But some of the choicest benefits of so rare a character, are found in its influence upon the principles and conduct of those, who are taught to regard the same

with attention and reverence. A virtuous example is very powerful to persuade and control the human mind. Abundant evidence have we of this, in the happy fruits of that ascendancy which has marked the honoured name before us. The good effects which have flowed to our land from the moral weight of his excellent life, cannot be justly estimated. These effects have been increasing with the rapid growth of our country, and must continue to multiply as she advances in numbers and intelligence. Nor will the limits of his own country confine the virtue of his high example. It has already extended in its salutary efficacy to other climes, and no doubt will prevail wherever goodness is revered, or greatness respected.

As few men have acted a more important or spirit-stirring part in the drama of human life, so few have awakened a deeper interest, or a more rigid scrutiny of their principles, motives, and actions. The inquiry, prompted by an ardent sympathy, has been attended by much diligent research, severe analysis, and patient reflection. Whatever he thought, or said, or did, has been examined, considered, and weighed, with a solicitude and caution, prompted by the wish to understand aright, and fitly appreciate, the character of one so eminently useful to his kind, and signally owned of Heaven. The fruit of this investigation is so well known, that it is scarcely necessary to add, that the trial to which his fame has been subjected, has issued in the universal admission, that *greatness* and *goodness* attach to his character, in a degree, seldom found to exist in the same human being.

It appears, however, to the writer, that among the various traits distinguishing so rare a personage, the attention of the public has been rather partially distributed. The qualities of the hero and statesman, universally attractive as they are, have been those on which the most have chiefly delighted to dwell. Here they have lingered, with fixed and unwearied admiration. In the mean time other important peculiarities of disposition and habit, have been suffered to pass unnoticed, or with only a reluctant and impatient glance. Among these may be especially numbered the religious views and character of this illustrious man. These, indeed, have not been entirely unobserved by the public, and no doubt have much engaged the attention of some. But they have not shared a due proportion of interest, or their merited pre-eminence in the constellation of his virtues.

It is well known, that distinguished persons in our land, have evinced a strange anxiety to impress the world with a belief that the Father of his Country was sceptical at heart, in regard to the Divine Authority of the Bible. Instances of this singular zeal could readily be specified, if it was expedient to do so. The remarkable fact, however, is within the recollection of many, that a public discussion took place some few years ago, in one of our principal cities, in reference to this very question—Washington's faith in Christianity being boldly denied by one individual, and as positively affirmed by another.*

* This public debate was held in the City of New-York, and conducted by Mr. Owen, of radical memory, and Mr. Bachelor.

Without attaching any undue importance to the judgment of any mere man, in reference to the Holy Scriptures, or indeed on any other subject, the writer is yet impressed with the belief that a useful service may be rendered the cause of religion and morality, by placing the question of Washington's religious opinions and conduct, in a satisfactory point of view. The solicitude which others have manifested to perplex and mislead inquirers, may be considered a justification of any effort, fairly made, to disabuse the public mind of false impressions. The truth being once established, it may then pass for what it is worth, and every man be left to draw his own conclusions, and place upon the result such an estimate as he may think fit.

This humble performance is presented by the author to his fellow-citizens, without any of the pomp of literary pretence, or the hope of literary reward. He has but one design in contemplation, as the fruit of his labour, and that is, the advancement of true religion and virtue in his native land: and with this cherished view, does he lay upon the altar of his country, this offering of a single heart, if not of an accomplished pen.

FREDERICKSBURGH, Virginia, Sept. 15, 1838.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE author has been at much pains to acquire the requisite materials for his present undertaking. To this end, he flatters himself that the means within his reach, are unusually ample. Besides the ordinary sources of information, he has enjoyed the advantages of access to some, not heretofore thrown open to others. His main dependance, however, has been on such authorities as are familiar to all, though not before so collected and combined into one harmonious whole, as to give them their just influence on the public mind. It may be added, that in search of matter, there has been a studious refusal of whatever could be regarded as apocryphal or fanciful—care being taken to employ only such facts as can be proved authentic, or bear the indubitable marks of being so.

As there will be in the body of the work, the usual references to important authorities, it will not be necessary to enumerate them here. This may, however, be the place to say, that in consequence of the miscellaneous, and in some respects desultory character which the work has assumed, the author has not encumbered

his pages, or obstructed the progress of his readers, with a reference, in every instance, of a quoted article. Indeed it was not possible always to decide on whose authority particular facts depend for their claim to confidence. Through so many hands have they passed, regarded always as common property, that their paternity can only be appropriated to a universally credited tradition.

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INTRODUCTION.

AN account of the early years of WASHINGTON, will probably be regarded as a proper introduction to the following work. With such a chart, the progress of the reader will be rendered more easy, as he will not then be detained with explanations and references, otherwise unavoidable. Something of the kind becomes expedient, moreover, for other reasons entitled to weight.

Of the many narratives published of this period of Washington's life, it is believed that none have been correct. The prominent facts may have been given, but not without striking errors and contradictions in them all. These, indeed, may not be of very great moment, but it certainly is desirable that the statements should be accurate. If the history is of any value, it is worthy of being exact in its details. The author cannot say that he has attained to perfect accuracy, in regard to all the facts, dates, &c., but he has been enabled to rectify sundry mistakes of former biographers, and to give, as he thinks, a record more faithful than any which has yet appeared.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born on the 22d of February, (n. s.) A.D. 1732. The place of his nativity was Pope's Creek, Washington parish, Westmoreland county, Virginia.

The estate on which he was born had been in possession of his family for about seventy-five years. It was originally settled by his great-grandfather, John Washington, an English gentleman, who had emigrated from the north

of England, somewhere about the year 1655. As his removal took place during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, he was probably one of those who preferred liberty in a strange land, to a dishonourable submission at home. He is believed to have been a military man in early life. His will, now at Mount Vernon, has the following endorsement, “The will of Lieutenant Colonel Washington.” This document also bears witness to an ardent piety in the testator; the venerable founder of his family. As the parish in which he lived, has always borne his name, he was probably mainly instrumental in its establishment. A slight bequest in favour of the church, evinced his dying solicitude for the decent maintenance of those services which he had cherished while living. After his arrival and settlement in Westmoreland, he married Miss Pope, daughter of the gentleman from whom the creek on which he lived took its name. By this marriage he had three children, viz. Lawrence, John, and Ann. To Lawrence, the oldest son, he bequeathed the estate on which he lived—the Pope’s Creek farm. Augustine Washington, the father of George, was the son of Lawrence, and born in the year 1694. He was probably the oldest son of his father, as he inherited the patrimonial estate at Pope’s Creek. He was twice married. His first wife was Jane Butler, by whom he had four children, viz. Butler, Lawrence, Augustine and Jane. Of these, Butler died young, and Jane the 17th of January, 1735, when about thirteen years of age; Lawrence and Augustine attained to manhood. The first was born in the year 1718. The second wife was Mary Ball, a young lady of highly respectable family, in the northern neck of Virginia. To her he was married on the 6th of March, 1731, being himself thirty-seven years of age. Of this union George was the first fruit. He was the oldest of

* The date of the will is Oct. 21, 1675.

six children, viz. George, Betty, Samuel, John Augustine, Charles, and Mildred. The latter died when sixteen months old.

It was about the year 1739 that Mr. Washington removed from his estate in Westmoreland, to a farm owned by him in King George county, (now Stafford county,) on the Rappahannock river, directly opposite to Fredericksburg. This change of residence was probably induced by considerations of health—the Potomac estate being sickly. Previous to this event, George had been sent to a school kept by an old man named Hobby, who was at once a teacher and sexton of Washington parish. By this old man was the future hero and statesman taught to read. During this period domestic incidents occurred, embracing the religious instruction of George, to which reference will be made in the proper place. Between him and his father, it would seem that a delightful intercourse always subsisted ; it being a matter of regret to the latter that he was obliged to be separated from his child, even during the hours of school. Mr. Washington survived his removal from Westmoreland but a few years. He had time enough allowed him, however, to mark the budding virtues of his son. It was in the Easter holydays that Mr. Washington was taken sick. George was absent at the time, on a visit to some of his acquaintances* in Chotanet, King George county. He was sent for after his father's sickness became serious, and reached the paternal abode in time to witness the last struggle and receive the parting benediction of his beloved parent.

Lawrence Washington, the eldest son by the first wife, indulging a military spirit, joined the army, a little after he

* In his will, General Washington made the following bequests. " To the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years, *Lawrence Washington* and *Robert Washington*, of Chotanet, I give my other two gold-headed canes, having my arms engraved on them," &c.

became of age, and received a captain's commission, dated June 9th, 1740. "He was assigned to a company in a regiment to be raised in America, under the command of Colonel Alexander Spotswood, designed for the West India service, and to act in the Spanish war. The regiment was transported to Jamaica early in 1741, where it was united with the British forces in time to take a part in the unsuccessful siege of Carthagena, conducted by Admiral Vernon and General Wentworth, in March, of that year. After the failure of the expedition, the fleet sailed back to Jamaica, where the land forces were stationed, except during a few months in the summer season, when, for reasons not known, they were taken to Cuba. Captain Washington returned to Virginia near the close of the year 1742, having been absent about two years."* In a few months after his return, his father's death took place. He died at his house, opposite to Fredericksburg, on the 12th of April, 1743, aged 49 years. As the eldest son, Lawrence had been charged with the care of the family and estate. About this time he married Ann Fairfax, a daughter of Mr. William Fairfax, and relative of Lord Fairfax. Soon after which event, he settled on an estate, not purchased by him, as has been said, but bequeathed him by his father; and called by himself Mount Vernon, in honour of Admiral Vernon. While Lawrence settled at Mount Vernon, in the neighbourhood of his father-in-law, his brother Augustine took possession of the family estate at Pope's Creek, which property had been also bequeathed him by his father. To him was George sent a short time after the death of Mr. Washington. Here he continued about three years, going to school all the time to a Mr. Williams; a plain, but respectable teacher.

During this period he was taught the manual exercise by Adjutant Muse, a Westmoreland volunteer, who had been

* J. Sparks.

in the West India service with his brother Lawrence. He was also instructed in the art of fencing, by Mons. Vandbraam, who afterwards accompanied him to Venango as his interpreter. At the conclusion of his residence in Westmoreland, we find him attempting to enter the naval service of Great Britain. In September, 1746, he went to the county of Fairfax, where his brother Lawrence resided. With the consent of his mother a midshipman's warrant had been obtained for him by this brother. But a change of mind, on the part of Mrs. Washington, had suspended his final decision, and in a month or two induced him entirely to abandon the thought of going to sea. He did not again return to Westmoreland, but spent his time at Mount Vernon, and with his mother near Fredericksburg. Here he again went to school, and continued till his seventeenth year ; at the commencement of which, viz. in March, 1748, he engaged as a surveyor in the western part of Virginia, associated with Mr. George Fairfax, in the service of Lord Thomas Fairfax. In this laborious office he continued about three years, with occasional intervals of absence, on visits to his brother at Mount Vernon, and to his mother. In the month of September, 1751, if not before, he relinquished the occupation of surveyor, for the purpose of accompanying his brother Lawrence to the West Indies, whose declining health rendered such a trip necessary. There he did not stay long, taking the small-pox during the time, and returning to Virginia alone in February, 1752, Lawrence remained with the hope of deriving benefit to his health, but failing in this respect, he returned home the following summer to his grave. He died at Mount Vernon, July 26th, 1752. George was at Mount Vernon when his brother died, and immediately took charge of his affairs. On opening the will of the deceased, it was found that he

had given to George the Mount Vernen estate,* together with some valuable lands in Berkley county, Virginia.

A short time before this, according to Judge Marshall, George had been appointed by the governour and council, adjutant to the northern division of the Virginia militia, with the rank of major. It was about fifteen months from the death of his brother that he received the appointment, and engaged in his first public duties as envoy to the French commandant on the Ohio. The colony of Virginia having been recently divided into four military districts, his appointment of adjutant-general was renewed during his absence, and the northern district assigned him. In his visit to the Ohio he was to act as the messenger of the governour,† to deliver a letter to the French commandant, and ascertain the meaning of sundry recent hostile movements of the French, consisting of undue encroachments on the lands of his majesty, the king of England, and maltreating subjects of the British crown. Being commissioned on the 30th of October, 1753, he set out the same day on his arduous and dangerous enterprize. Through many difficulties, privations, and hazards, did he persevere in the fulfilment of his mission, which he at length accomplished to the perfect satisfaction of the authorities by whom he had been employed. After many risks of his life, with much suffering from cold and fatigue, he returned to Williamsburg, with the answer of the French commander, and an account of his own travels and proceedings, on the 16th of January, 1754, having been absent about six weeks.

In consequence of the zeal, fidelity and ability, with which

* Though prompted by his fraternal affection for George, in giving him Mount Vernon, yet it appears from an inspection of the will of the father, that a desire had been therein expressed that Lawrence, in case he should die without issue, would give that property to George. He died without issue, it is believed, and obeyed the father's wish.

† Dinwiddie.

Major Washington accomplished the objects of his western tour, he was appointed, soon after his return, to the command of two companies, of one hundred men each, ordered to be raised by the governour and council, with a view to the construction of a fort, at the fork of the Ohio, as a means of resisting the hostilities of the French. The Virginia assembly, however, at a recent sitting, having voted ten thousand pounds for this service, the governour was induced to increase the force to three hundred men, divided into six companies, the command of the whole being given to Colonel Joshua Fry. Major Washington was then raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and made second in command, an honour beyond which he did not aspire, and with which he expressed himself perfectly satisfied.

Having been stationed at Alexandria, for the purpose of filling up his company, Colonel Washington left that place on the 2d of April, and arrived at Will's Creek on the 20th, having been joined on the route by a detachment under Captain Stephen. Colonel Fry, the chief in command, being detained by bad health, Colonel Washington went on from his quarters at Will's Creek toward the Great Meadows. This he was induced to do, by learning that the French, in great numbers, had appeared before the fort, then in an unfinished state, at the fork of the Ohio, and demanded its surrender, which was accordingly complied with by Ensign Ward, who had been left there by Captain Trent, with a handful of men. Considering the frontiers as thus actually invaded, Colonel Washington regarded it as his duty, in compliance with the orders given him, to move onward, prepared to meet the invading army wherever it should appear. On the 1st of May, his feeble force, consisting of one hundred and fifty men, moved from Will's Creek, and entered the wilderness by slow and tedious marches. The friendly Indians brought in frequent reports of French scouts

seen in the woods, and on the 24th of May, the half-king sent message to Washington, apprising him that a French force, a in what numbers he could not tell, was on its march to attack the English, and warning him to be on his guard. The army was now a few miles beyond the Great Meadows, and on receiving this intelligence, Washington hastened back to that place, and at once engaged his men in throwing up an entrenchment, determined to wait the approach of the enemy.

Early on the morning of the 27th, Mr. Gist arrived in camp, and informed Colonel Washington that M. La Force, a French officer, had been at his plantation, about thirteen miles off, the day before; and that on his way he had seen the tracks of the same party five miles from the encampment.

Washington, suspecting a design to surprise him, immediately made provision for finding out, and attacking this roving detachment of the enemy. In this he succeeded on the morning of the 28th. In connexion with a few friendly Indians, he surprised the French in their hiding place, and after an action of about fifteen minutes, subdued them, killing some, and capturing the rest. Among the killed was the commander, M. Jumonville. This was the first battle in which Washington had ever been engaged.

A few days after this action, viz : on the 31st of May, Colonel Fry died at Will's Creek. Governour Dinwiddie was now in Winchester. Colonel Innis, from North Carolina, had recently arrived in that town with 350 troops. Soon after the death of Colonel Fry, the governour appointed Innis to the chief command of all the forces destined for the Ohio. Colonel Washington was promoted to the command of the Virginia regiment. Neither Colonel Innis nor his troops ever joined Colonel Washington, or rendered him any aid. He was joined by a Captain

Mackay, with an independent company from South Carolina, who were of little service, as they stood very much upon their rights as the king's soldiers, claiming an exemption from many duties on that account. Leaving this officer and his company at the Great Meadows, Colonel Washington marched forward with the Virginia regiment. He soon learned, however, the extent of the French force, and though Captain Mackay overtook him, a retreat was thought expedient. They reached the Great Meadows on the 1st of July, when Colonel Washington, finding his men too much fatigued to go any further, determined to increase the strength of the fortifications, and await the movements of the enemy.

On the 3d of July, early in the morning, an alarm was received from a sentinel, who had been wounded by the enemy ; and at nine o'clock, intelligence came that their whole body, amounting, as was reported, to 900 men, were only four miles off. The action soon commenced. It continued from eleven A. M., to eight o'clock at night, when the French commander requested a parley. The proposal issued in the capitulation of Washington, and his return with the troops to Will's Creek. Thence, with Captain Mackay he proceeded to Williamsburgh, and communicated, in person, the results of the expedition.

There was a good deal of dissatisfaction expressed in regard to some of the articles of capitulation, when they became public. The house of burgesses, however, met in August, and requested the governour to lay before them a copy of the capitulation. This being done, upon a due consideration of the subject, they passed a vote of thanks to Colonel Washington, and his officers, for their bravery and gallant defence of the country. Indeed, all the proceedings of the campaign were not only approved, but applauded by the government and the public generally.

Soon after Colonel Washington's return from this expedition, the governour and council resolved on renewing the contest, in which they had been so lately foiled. There was, however, a difference between the governour and house of burgesses, which prevented an appropriation of money at this juncture. When Washington was informed of the plans of the governour and council, to engage in another enterprize against the French, without delay, he expostulated so warmly against the folly of such an attempt being made without money, men, or provisions, that the scheme was readily abandoned.

When the assembly met in October, they granted twenty thousand pounds for the public exigencies, and the governour received from England, ten thousand pounds in specie, with the promise of as much more, and two thousand fire-arms. Thereupon he resolved to enlarge the army to ten companies, of one hundred men each, and to reduce them all to independent companies, by which means there would be no officer in the Virginia regiment above the rank of a captain. In consequence of this singular arrangement, Colonel Washington retired from the army, as he would not accept a lower commission than the one he had held, and in which he had exhibited a rare example of bravery and good conduct.

From this time, October 1754, he remained on his farm engaged in the pursuits of agriculture; for which he ever had a strong predilection. It was not long, however, that a man of such decided military talents could be suffered to remain inactive, when the cloud of war was impending. On the 20th of February, 1755, General Braddock arrived in Virginia, as commander-in-chief of all the military forces of North America. He had heard of Colonel Washington as a man of worth, and finding that he had resigned his commission, when his command was reduced, commended

the military spirit of the youthful soldier, and, to remove all difficulty on that score, he offered him a place in his family, as volunteer aid-de-camp. By this arrangement, excluding all question of rank, every objection on the part of Washington being effectually obviated, he freely accepted the offer.

On the 20th of April General Braddock marched from Alexandria, where his troops had first landed. Colonel Washington, detained by his private concerns, did not leave Mount Vernon till the 23d. He joined the army in a few days at Fredericktown, Maryland. From hence they pursued their way into the wilderness. On the 14th of June he was taken sick with a violent fever in the Alleghany mountain. The army proceeded without him, the violence of his disease rendering it impossible for him to travel. He was, however, convalescent in a few weeks, and so far recovered as to bear his part in the memorable battle of the Monongahela. This fatal event occurred on Wednesday, the 9th of July. Colonel Washington had only joined the army the day before : he was weak and feeble from the effects of his late sickness ; yet did he nobly fulfil his duty that day. While death was strewing the plain with its agonized victims, he conducted himself with the greatest courage and resolution. General Braddock, with almost every officer of distinction, and a large proportion of the troops, were either killed or wounded. Washington alone abided unhurt the horrors of that dreadful conflict. When Braddock himself fell, the wretched remnant of his blasted army was conducted by Washington to a place of safe retreat. The general was also carried off by his assistance, but died of his wounds a few days after the battle. He was buried at night, in the road, near Fort Necessity, at the Great Meadows.

This disaster, of which a sanguine public had not enter-

tained the most distant apprehension, came upon the whole country like the shock of an earthquake. And yet Colonel Washington lost no ground in the confidence of his countrymen. The belief was general, that if he had been commander the calamity would not have occurred. By his brilliant behaviour during the action, and his skill in directing the retreat, he acquired increased reputation and esteem with the public.

In proof of this undiminished confidence he was immediately advanced to the chief command of the Virginia forces. The assembly voted forty thousand pounds for the public service, and the governour and council immediately resolved to increase the Virginia regiment to sixteen companies. Of this regiment Colonel Washington was appointed commander-in-chief. His commission was dated on the 14th of August. Permission was given him to appoint his own officers, together with an aid-de-camp and secretary.

Thus cordially sustained, he entered upon the duties of his command with that energy and resolution for which he had been distinguished in all his enterprizes. For these, indeed, there was abundant occasion in that irregular and protracted warfare which grew out of the peculiar policy of the French, and habits of the Indians. It now became his duty to defend three hundred and sixty miles of frontier, against the incursions of a blood-thirsty and unrelenting foe. Winchester was made the head quarters of the army, and the valley of the Shannondoah, in which that town was situated, being thinly settled by inhabitants, was the frequent scene of the most dreadful depredations, and inhuman murders. Hordes of savages and Frenchmen were continually hovering, like birds of prey, over that defenceless country, for the protection of which an undisciplined and incompetent force, as it appeared, had been assigned the youthful commander. For three tedious and anxious years did

Washington maintain the unequal and harassing strife. The governour, jealous, as it was thought, of his rising popularity, extended to him a tardy and reluctant support. He was refused an adequate provision in men and money when they were absolutely necessary, and yet censured for disasters which no human power, under such circumstances, could avert. He continued, notwithstanding, amidst the most trying and perplexing scenes, to do all that could be done, both with his sword and his pen. He repelled the foe with the one, and expostulated with the other, where there was any hope of success. He was untiring in his efforts to defend a deserted and afflicted people, who looked up to him with tears and entreaties for protection ; while, in tones of manly remonstrance, he represented to the government the insufficiency of the means allowed him for a work so arduous and trying.

At length, the great object of his hopes and desires was accomplished, in the expulsion of the enemy from Fort Duquesne. The design, which the British government had formed, of carrying the war into Canada, being known to the French governour in that country, the greater part of their troops were recalled from the Ohio. About five hundred men had been left for the defence of the French possessions. These soon yielded to the British troops, under General Forbes. It was on the 25th of November, 1758, that his majesty's forces took possession of Fort Duquesne—now Pittsburg. The French had previously set fire to the fort, and passed down the Ohio. The war was transferred to Canada, and Virginia was permitted to rest for a season, exchanging the hazards and ravages of war for the tranquillity and improvements of peace.

Colonel Washington now determined to retire from the army, and seek, in the repose and relaxation of home, the

restoration of his injured health, and the improvement of of his private affairs, which had suffered much by his long absence.

His word and affections were also pledged at this time to that excellent female who in a short time became his devoted wife. He had been thus engaged since the preceding spring. This fact, not generally known, is unimportant, except as serving to enhance the value of those hazards and privations encountered by him in the cause of his country, and from which he could not be seduced by the charms of one so tenderly beloved.

In the month of May, of this year, he visited Williamsburg, on pressing business, under the direction of Sir John St. Clair.* It was at this time that the following circumstances occurred, as related in a recent publication by the grandson of Mrs. Washington. "It was in 1758, that an officer, attired in a military undress, and attended by a body servant, tall and militaire as his chief, crossed the ferry called Williams', over the Pamunkey, a branch of the York river. On the boat touching the southern, or New Kent side, the soldier's progress was arrested by one of those personages, who give the beau ideal of the Virginia gentleman of the old regime, the very soul of kindness and hospitality. It was in vain the soldier urged his business at Williamsburg, important communications to the governour, &c. Mr. Chamberlayne, on whose domain the militaire had just landed, would take no excuse." It was now, in accepting an invitation to dine, that Colonel Washington became acquainted with Mrs. Custis, who was a guest that day at the mansion of Mr. Chamberlayne. Having seen her again on his return from Williamsburg at her own house in New

* See his letter to the president of the council, dated May 28th, 1758, as contained in 2d. vol. of his "Writings." p. 285; published by J. Sparks.

Kent, he pursued his way to the post of duty, at headquarters, in Winchester. Passing through the toils and dangers of the following campaign, which terminated on the 25th of November, we find him again in Williamsburg, with a view to a final settlement of his accounts with the government on the 30th of December. He was married in about a week from this time, viz. on the 6th of January, 1759,—the marriage ceremony being performed at the White House, New Kent county, the residence of Mrs. Custis, by the Rev. Mr. Mossom, rector of St. Peter's church, New Kent.

During the previous summer, having determined to resign his commission at the close of the campaign, Colonel Washington had proposed himself to the electors of Frederick county as a candidate for the house of burgesses. Though detained from the hustings by the duties of his command, he was elected by a large majority over three active rival candidates. The assembly was convened by prorogation, in the month of February, when he joined the body as the member from Frederick. It was on this occasion that the following incident occurred, as related by Mr. Wirt, in his “Life of Patrick Henry,”* on the authority of Edmund Randolph. It had been resolved, when it was known that Colonel Washington would be a member, that the thanks of the house should be returned to him, in a public manner, for his distinguished services to his country; and the duty devolved upon Mr. Robinson, the speaker.

“As soon as Colonel Washington took his seat,” says Mr. Wirt, “Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity; but with such warmth of colouring, and strength of expression, as entirely

* Page 45.

confounded the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgements for the honour, but such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled, for a second ; when the speaker relieved him, by a stroke of address that would have done honour to Louis the XIV. in his proudest and happiest moment. “ Sit down Mr. Washington,” said he, with a conciliating smile ; “ your modesty is equal to your valour ; and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.”

Colonel Washington remained in Williamsburg during the session of the assembly, after which he repaired, with Mrs. Washington, to his residence at Mount Vernon. Here was he allowed the repose of peace, and the pleasure of his favourite agricultural occupations, for the space of sixteen years, mingling, however, with them those civil and religious pursuits, which became him as a patriot and a Christian. He was a magistrate of the county, and a frequent member of the house of burgesses, as well as of the first and second continental congress. He was also a fast friend of the church, in the parish where he lived, doing all in his power to advance the interests of morality and religion, through her consecrated instrumentality.

We here conclude our hasty narrative, because no longer necessary to a proper understanding of the following work. There is so much greater notoriety attaching to the succeeding years of his life, than to those which preceded them, that it will be easy for the reader of ordinary information, to understand and appreciate the facts and incidents, insulated as they may be, which it will be our business to select and record, in the course of the following investigation.

THE
RELIGIOUS OPINIONS AND CHARACTER
OF
WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF WASHINGTON.

THE advantages of early religious instruction, imparted with due affection and skill, have long since been decided by the testimony of human experience, as well as by the voice of divine revelation. So well established is the principle, that the character of the man may in general be safely inferred from the moral discipline of the youth. The consent and approval of mankind, has in one sense consecrated the familiar adage :—

“ Just as the twig is bent, the tree ’s inclined ;”

And the Wise Man declares the same in substance, when he says, “ Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it.”

“ It is true, indeed,” says one,* “ that our first years

* Rev. J. W. Cunningham, A. M.

seldom supply that sober ear, which the lessons of religion demand; but then every avenue to the heart is open; and whatever spirit is introduced into the system, often lives, though latent, and animates the frame forever. Early piety may sometimes languish, but then it is often but for a season, as rivers sometimes suddenly disappear, but as often rise again in a distant spot, with brighter waves and increased rapidity.—Early scholars in religion are the best, for they have less to unlearn. Indeed, it is rare to see the gray hairs of Devotion silver the head which was not *early* taught of Heaven."

A striking confirmation of the doctrine in question appears to be furnished by the life and character of Washington. Of this, however, we must leave our readers to form their own judgment, when the evidences of his religious education shall have been laid before them. There is reason, indeed, to regret that the amount of positive knowledge on this subject is not so ample as could have been desired. And yet there are some things known to us, which afford very strong presumptive testimony, while a few scattered examples of parental care have been given, which enable us to conclude, with considerable certainty, in regard to the general course of moral and spiritual instruction pursued in his case.

The record of his early reception into the Christian church, by the sacred rite of baptism, has been copied from the family Bible. It is here submitted, not only as an article of some interest in itself, but as serving to introduce reflections which may shed a little light upon our subject.

" George Washington, Son to Augustine and Mary his Wife, was born the 11th day of Febury, 1731-2 about

10 in the morning, and was baptized the 5th of April following—Mr. Beverly Whiting and Captain Christopher Brooks, Godfathers, and Mrs. Mildred Gregory, Godmother."

The parents of Washington, as the reader will no doubt understand, were members of the Church of England ; which was almost the only denomination of Christians then known in the colony of Virginia. And in the matter before us, the baptism of their child, and the accompanying sponsorial provision, they acted, it would seem, in precise and scrupulous conformity with the rules of that ancient Church.

In the absence of accurate information, as before intimated, there is very good ground of belief that the course subsequently pursued by the parents, was according to the good beginning here made. The vows of those who devoted their offspring to God in holy baptism, as administered by the Church of England, were very solemn, and the *age* distinguished by a rigid punctuality respecting the duties enjoined by those vows. The solemnity of the engagements incurred, may be more clearly perceived, and fully understood from the emphatic terms of the following exhortation, always delivered in the conclusion of the service, by the officiating minister :—

" Forasmuch as this child hath promised, by you, his Sureties, to renounce the devil and all his works, to believe in God, and to serve him ; ye must remember, that it is your parts and duties to see that this infant be taught, so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise and profession, he hath here made by you. And that he may know these things the better, ye shall call upon him to hear Sermons ; and chiefly ye shall provide,

that he may learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and all other things which a Christian ought to know, and believe to his soul's health; and that this Child may be virtuously brought up, to lead a godly and a Christian life—remembering always that Baptism doth represent unto us our profession; which is, to follow the example of our Saviour Christ, and to be made like unto him, that as he died and rose again for us, so should we, who are baptized, die from sin, and rise again unto righteousness; continually mortifying all our evil, and corrupt affections, and daily proceeding in all virtue and godliness of living."

These peculiarities are referred to, solely for the purpose of exhibiting the nature of the obligations incurred, equally by the sponsors and parents of Washington, in the religious observance under consideration—obligations which we have good reason to believe they conscientiously fulfilled. Their exact conformity with the regulation of the church in the original instance, seems to authorize the conclusion, that they subsequently acted with the same scrupulous regard to engagements, bound upon them by the solemn sanctions of religion, and enforced by motives drawn from the hopes and fears of another world.

We shall here introduce a few biographical incidents, as not unworthy the attention of our readers. They may be quoted, as serving, in some degree, to aid our inquiries, and confirm our impressions of parental fidelity in the case before us. Nor let any complain of them, as unimportant and trifling. Life is very much made up of small things, and it is often to them we must look for the development and proof of principles. What these little

domestic occurrences shall be found to want in historical dignity, we think they will make up in real worth and useful intimations. Their employment may at least contribute to the amusement and edification of our juvenile readers, and, perhaps, not be deficient in salutary suggestions to older persons entrusted with the instruction and government of the young.

The following account rests on the testimony of a venerable lady, now deceased, who, as a friend and relative, spent many of her youthful days in the family of Mr. Washington.

“ On a fine morning in the fall of 1737, Mr. Washington, having George by the hand, came to the door, and asked cousin Washington and myself to walk with him to the orchard, promising to show us a fine sight. On arriving at the orchard, we were presented with a fine sight, indeed. The whole earth, as far as we could see, was strewed with fruit; and yet the trees were bending under the weight of apples. ‘ Now, George,’ said his father, ‘ look here, my son! Don’t you remember, when this good cousin of yours brought you that fine, large apple last spring, how hardly I could prevail on you to divide with your brothers and sisters, though I promised that if you would but do it, the Almighty would give you a plenty of apples this fall?’ Poor George could not say a word; but, hanging down his head, looked quite confused. ‘ Now, look up, my son,’ continued his father, ‘ and see how richly the Almighty has made good my promise to you!’ George looked, in silence, on the wide wilderness of fruit; then, lifting his eyes to his father, he said, with emotion, ‘ Well, pa, only forgive me this time, and see if I am ever so stingy any more.’ ”

Mr. Washington, it would seem, earnestly addressed himself to the work of inspiring his son with an early love of truth. On this subject he often spoke to him, commanding the virtue as one of pre-eminent value and excellence. Of the efficacy of his instructions the following incident may afford some illustration. The narrative rests upon the authority of the excellent lady before mentioned.

"When George was about six years old, he became the happy owner of a hatchet, of which, like most little boys, he was immoderately fond, and was constantly going about, chopping every thing that came in his way. One day, in the garden, where he often amused himself, he unluckily tried the edge of his hatchet on the body of a beautiful young English cherry-tree, which he barked so terribly that I believe the tree never got the better of it. The next morning, the old gentleman, finding out what had befallen his tree—which, by-the-by, was a great favourite with him—came into the house, and, with much warmth, asked for the mischievous author—declaring, at the same time, that he would not have taken five guineas for his tree. Nobody could tell him any thing about it. Presently George and his hatchet made their appearance. 'George,' said his father, 'do you know who killed that beautiful little cherry-tree yonder in the garden?' George was taken by surprise, and for a moment staggered under the question; but he quickly recovered himself, and, looking at his father, he said, 'I can't tell a lie, pa—I cut it, with my hatchet.' The delighted father embraced his child, saying, 'Glad am I, George, that you killed the tree, for you have paid me for it a thousand-fold! Such an act

of heroism, my son, is worth a thousand such trees as the one destroyed.' ”*

It was not, however, forgotten by Mr. Washington, while instructing his son in the obligations of morality, that “the fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge,” and the only effectual source of real virtue and goodness. To give his son this knowledge, and inspire him with this fear, as far as human agency could effect it, was accordingly a cherished aim with this considerate parent. To accomplish his pious object by an impression that would be deep and enduring, he adopted the following expedient.

On a properly prepared bed in his garden, he traced, with a stick, the letters of his son’s name; and, sowing seed in them, he covered the same over, and smoothed the ground nicely with a roller. In a short time the usual progress of vegetation brought up the plants, and displayed, in prominent and legible characters, the words, GEORGE WASHINGTON. It was not many days before the vegetable wonder caught the eye for which it was intended. Again and again did the astonished boy read his name, springing up from the earth in letters fresh and green. But soon he turned with eager steps to seek his beloved father, and tell him of the sight he had seen. The conscious father hastened with him to the spot, and listened for a time to the expression of his childish admiration and perplexity. It was in vain that he sought for a cause of the phenomenon. He could not

* This and the preceding occurrence were communicated to Rev. Mr. Weems, for a short time rector of Mount Vernon parish, after the death of Washington.

be satisfied until his father revealed his own agency. He had made the letters with his stick, and had sowed the seed in the furrows; and the warm earth had caused them to spring up. And now he availed himself of the propitious occasion to direct the excited faculties of his child toward the contemplation of that Infinite Intelligence whence all things had proceeded. He showed the necessary existence of God, from the works of nature—from the manifest traces of design, contrivance, and wise adjustment, every where discernable in the various productions of his Almighty hand. The moment was eminently auspicious. The mind could not have been more impressible, or open to salutary instruction, under any ordinary influence. Such a demonstration as that presented to the eye, was eminently calculated to stimulate reflection, enlighten the mind, and rivet conviction. Here, in the name inscribed on the earth, was an effect; for this there must have been a cause; and an intelligent cause must be inferred from the design manifest in the work. If such a conclusion was authorized, yea, compelled, by the present instance of intelligent contrivance, how much more might it be inferred that “the Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth, and by understanding established the heavens!” What varied and cogent proof of infinite wisdom as well as power could be pointed out in the wonderful formation of the globe, and in the yet more wonderful structure of the human frame! In the due illustration and explanation of these things, addressed in the liquid tones of parental affection, was Mr. Washington, perhaps, instrumental in making those impressions, which, growing with his growth, and strengthening with his strength, constituted, under a higher

influence, the germ of those reverential and devout feelings towards the Deity, which ever after so signally marked the character and conduct of the Father of his Country.

Thus happily and profitably to young Washington, rolled on the days of his early age. But not many years, in the providence of God, were allotted as the term of this pleasant intercourse between the father and his beloved child. George had just concluded his eleventh year when his father was removed by the hand of death.

From this time, the care of her first-born, devolved entirely on Mrs. Washington. She had always no doubt united with her excellent husband in the sacred duty of parental instruction, endeavouring to "bring up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." But now the whole burden falls upon her,—and if success is made the test of fidelity and fitness for the delicate office, surely it is not an humble degree of either, that will be ascribed to her by posterity. Of her high estimate of virtue at least, and of the harmony of sentiment existing between herself and departed spouse, in reference thereto, let the following incident bear witness.

"After Washington attained to manhood, he was remarkable for his sobriety; yet his boyhood was not without some instances of folly and rashness.

"The story related of the favourite colt will serve as an illustration of this latter remark. At the time the occurrence happened, which I am about to relate, George might have been somewhat past ten years old. At all adventures his father was dead;* and upon his mother devolved the general care of the plantation.

* He was certainly past eleven years of age as his father died in April, 1743.

" Among other things she owned a colt ; which, on account of its many fine points, was quite a favourite. It was old enough to have been broken long before ; but for some reason it had been neglected, and was remarkably wild.

" George had frequently eyed this colt as it pranced round the field, proudly snuffing up the wind, wheeling and halting, and displaying its fine proportions ; and more than once he wished that he was upon its back.

" One day, at length, he told his wishes to some of his school companions, and engaged them to meet him early the next morning, when, with their assistance, he would have a ride.

" Accordingly the little party assembled the following day, soon after sunrise, and repaired to the field, where the young Arabian was kept, at no great distance from the house. With some effort, they contrived to pen him, and with still more effort to put a bridle upon him.

" Several took hold of the bridle, while the athletic youngster, with a single leap, vaulted upon his back.

" The necessary consequences of such an undertaking now took place. A desperate struggle followed between the horse and his rider. For a long time the contest continued doubtful, till at length in the fury of his plunges, the noble animal falling headlong burst a blood vessel, which produced instant death.

" By this fall George received no injury. But it grieved him to see lying before him the lifeless body of the spirited animal, whose death he was now sensible had been occasioned by his censurable folly and rashness. His mother, too ! her fondness for this animal came crowding upon him, to render his trouble still more distressing.

"Shortly after a call to breakfast was heard. Some of the companions of George, I believe, had been invited to breakfast with him that morning; and now, however much they could have desired to have been excused, they went in, and were soon seated at the table.

"For a time, little was said—less than usual. Whether Mrs. Washington remarked this, I cannot say. But, at length, breaking the silence, she inquired whether they had seen her fine sorrel colt in their rambles.

"To this no one of the boys replied, and the question was therefore repeated.

"There was now no escape. The case was to be met, and met at once. The integrity of George had been tried in still younger days; and now again tried, it nobly stood the test. He replied to the question put by his mother.

"Your sorrel colt is dead, mother."

"Dead! George," exclaimed Mrs. W., with a good deal of surprise—"dead, do you say?" her hands relaxing from some service which she was performing at the table.

"Yes, he is dead."

"How happened it, George?"

"I will tell you, mother. I am the only one in fault." And now he proceeded to give her a circumstantial and correct account of the whole transaction.

"Before the story was ended, the flush, which had for a short space risen upon the cheek of Mrs. W., an evidence of her displeasure, had all passed away, and in conclusion she observed, quite kindly and calmly, 'While I regret the loss of my favourite, *I rejoice in my son, who always speaks the truth.*'"^{*}

* Anonymous.

Soon after the above occurrence, the father having been dead some months, George was sent to Westmoreland to reside with his half-brother, Augustine, who, as heir thereof, occupied the family seat in that county. It was mainly with a view to the benefits of a respectable school in the neighbourhood, that George was removed from the maternal roof.

What the religious advantages were, which awaited him in his new situation, we have not the means of ascertaining. There is no doubt but he enjoyed the privilege of public worship at the parish church, known then and now as Pope's Creek Church. Here his attendance was probably habitual, as it was an age in which every body in that region frequented the House of God whenever divine service was performed. This fact, otherwise notorious, is also indicated by the size of the churches built in Virginia at that period, and by none more strongly than by the one above-named, which, from its vast extent, could once have accommodated a multitude of worshippers.

During his temporary residence in Westmoreland, and while the pupil of a Mr. Williams, the manifestations of good dispositions were numerous and striking. Such was his reputation, (as an old gentleman who had been at school with him once testified) such was his reputation for veracity, impartiality, and sound judgment, among his schoolmates, that in all their little differences and disputes he was ever called to act as their chosen umpire. And so great was their confidence in him, that his decisions were seldom called in question. With his companions he never quarrelled ; nor would he ever consent to see them fight with each other. Instead of encouraging a practice so degrading, he would often inform

the teacher when he became acquainted with any such wicked design—for which, however, he was much censured by the boys.

By nature possessed of a resolute and martial spirit, how shall we account for his gentle and pacific conduct in the instances referred to. How, except on the ground of a very refined temper, or of *a gracious state of mind*. It is known that the Spirit of God does often, at a very tender age, secretly imbue the soul with generous feelings and kind affections. We are inclined to think that the traces of his hallowed agency were clearly apparent in the dispositions and conduct under consideration.

The few meagre records which have been spared us of this period of his life, enable us to form some idea of the particular direction of his mind, and of the manner in which his leisure hours were spent. When about *thirteen years of age* he kept a blank book for the reception, in manuscript, of such articles as he thought instructive and useful. Among other things we find him transferring to this book, from a source not signified, a number of maxims, or rules of conduct, for the government of a young person. We here present the reader with a selection from these rules. They are such as may afford profit to all if carefully considered.

“1. Every action in company ought to be with some sign of respect to those present.

“2. Be no flatterer.

“3. Let your countenance be pleasant ; but in serious matters, somewhat grave.

“4. Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another, though he were your enemy.

“5. When you meet with one of greater quality than

yourself, stop and retire ; especially if it be at a door, or any strait place, to give way for him to pass.

“ 6. They that are in dignity or in office, have in all places precedence ; but whilst they are young they ought to respect those that are their equals in birth, or other qualities, though they have no public charge.

“ 7. It is good manners to prefer them to whom we speak before ourselves ; especially if they be above us, with whom in no sort we ought to begin.

“ 8. Let your discourse with men of business be short and comprehensive.

“ 9. In writing or speaking, give to every person his due title, according to his degree and the custom of the place.

“ 10. Strive not with your superiors in argument, but always submit your judgment to others with modesty.

“ 11. Undertake not to teach your equal in the art himself professes ; it savours of arrogance.

“ 12. When a man does all he can, though it succeeds not well, blame not him that did it.

“ 13. Being to advise, or reprehend any one, consider whether it ought to be in public or in private, presently or at some other time, in what terms to do it ; and in reproofing show no signs of choler, but do it with sweetness and mildness.

“ 14. Take all admonitions thankfully, in what time or place soever given ; but afterwards, not being culpable, take a time or place convenient to let him know it that gave them.

“ 15. Mock not, nor jest at any thing of importance ; break no jests that are sharp-biting, and if you deliver

any thing that is witty and pleasant, abstain from laughing thereat yourself.

“16. Wherein you reprove another be unblamable yourself; for example is more prevalent than precepts.

“17. Use no reproachful language against any one; neither curse, nor revile.

“18. Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.

“19. In your apparel be modest, and endeavour to accommodate nature, rather than to procure admiration; keep to the fashion of your equals, such as are civil and orderly with respect to times and places.

“20. Play not the peacock, looking every where about you to see if you be well decked, if your shoes fit well, if your stockings sit neatly, and clothes handsomely.

“21. Associate yourself with men of good quality, if you esteem your own reputation; for it is better to be alone than in bad company.

“22. Let your conversation be without malice or envy, for it is a sign of a tractable and commendable nature; and in all causes of passion, admit reason to govern.

“23. Utter not base and frivolous things among grave and learned men; nor very difficult questions or subjects among the ignorant: nor things hard to be believed.

“24. Be not immodest in urging your friend to discover a secret.

“25. Break not a jest where none takes pleasure in mirth; laugh not aloud, nor at all without occasion. Deride no man’s misfortune, though there seem to be some cause.

“26. Speak not injurious words neither in jest nor in earnest; scoff at none, though they give occasion.

“27. Be not forward, but friendly and courteous ; the first to salute, hear and answer ; and be not pensive when it is time to converse.

“28. Detract not from others ; neither be excessive in commending.

“29. Go not thither, where you know not whether you shall be welcome or not. Give not advice, without being asked, and when desired do it briefly.

“30. Reprehend not the imperfections of others ; for that belongs to parents, masters and superiors.

“31. Gaze not on the marks or blemishes of others, and ask not how they came. What you may speak in secret to your friend, deliver not before others.

“32. When another speaks, be attentive yourself, and disturb not the audience. If any hesitate in his words help him not, nor prompt him without being desired ; interrupt him not, nor answer him till his speech be ended.

“33. Make no comparisons ; and if any of the company be commended for any brave act of virtue, commend not another for the same.

“34. Be not apt to relate news if you know not the truth thereof. In discoursing of things you have heard, name not your author always. A secret discover not.

“35. Undertake not what you cannot perform, but be careful to keep your promise.

“36. Speak not evil of the absent, for it is unjust.

“37. Set not yourself at the upper end of the table, but if it be your due, or that the master of the house will have it so, contend not lest you should trouble the company.

“38. When you speak of God, or his attributes, let it

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be seriously in reverence. Honour and obey your natural parents, although they be poor.

"39. Let your recreations be manful, not sinful.

"40. Labour to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called conscience."

In the code of rules, of which the above are a specimen, there is contained some very useful instruction for improvement in morals and manners. The vigilant care which furnished young Washington with such seasonable aid, was probably mindful of the advantages of still higher knowledge, even the knowledge of God and revealed truths. We should at least so conclude from the spirit and practice of the day, in reference to the claims and duties of family religion.

From this period we learn little of the life of Washington, (except his continuance in Westmoreland, at school) till the summer of 1746. He was now in his fifteenth year, and seeking to enter the British navy. During his suspense, or rather the suspense of his mother, he found his way into the county of Fairfax, the residence of his brother Lawrence and other friends. While there, perhaps, on his way to Mount Vernon, he appears to have spent a little time at the house of Mr. William Fairfax, the father-in-law of his brother, and a most amiable and excellent individual. The following extract of a letter from him to Lawrence Washington, is the last notice we have of George, having any reference to his character, till he entered upon the active stage of life, some eighteen months from this time, as a surveyor in the western part of Virginia. In the letter alluded to, dated September 10th, 1746, Mr. Fairfax writes,—

"George has been with us, and *says he will be steady*

and thankfully follow your advice as his best friend. I gave him his mother's letter to deliver, with a caution not to show his. I have spoken to Dr. Spencer, who I find is often at the widow's, [Mrs. Washington's] and has some influence, to persuade her to think better of your advice in putting George to sea with good recommendations."

In the autumn of this year it was settled that George should not go to sea. The tenderness of a mother's love, under God, prevented this step. The circumstances attending the final relinquishment of a scheme, so captivating to the youthful fancy, were marked by some highly honourable proofs of filial affection on his part. Every necessary preparation for his indulgence having been completed, the surrender of his prospects was a costly sacrifice at the shrine of duty—the peace of an honoured parent being consulted at the expense of cherished anticipations. The divine command had doubtless been impressed on his mind, "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;" and he had seen the same substantially reiterated, in the moral sentences just quoted from his manuscript book, " Honour and obey your natural parents, although they be poor"—and being always principled in what he thought right, he did not hesitate to deny himself in this instance, painful as the effort was, that he might contribute to the satisfaction and comfort of her who had nourished and brought him up, and lavished upon him her fondest regard, her tenderest affection. To this event, however, we shall have occasion to revert again, and therefore forbear to dwell upon it here.

From this time, till March 1748, when he engaged

as a surveyor with Lord Fairfax, being just sixteen years of age, George, it is believed, resided at Mount Vernon, and with his mother at her abode opposite to Fredericksburg. In that town he went to school, and as Mrs. Washington was connected with the church there, her son no doubt shared, under her own eye, the benefits of divine worship, and such religious instruction as mothers in that day were eminently accustomed to give their children.* It was the habit to teach the young the first principles of religion according to the formularies of the church, to inculcate the fear of God, and the strict observance of the moral virtues, such as truth, justice, charity, humility, modesty, temperance, chastity, and industry. That such instruction was not withheld in the case under consideration, we have good reason to believe, and think a confirmation thereof may be found, not only in the known spirit of the age, but in the subsequent life of him who thus shared the advantages of so excellent a means of grace.

By indulgence of the present estimable possessor of Mount Vernon, the writer has upon his table an ancient volume, entitled, "Contemplations, Moral and Divine, by Sir Mathew Hale, Knight; late Chief Justice of the King's Bench." This book belonged to Mrs. Washington, and has her name in it, written with her own hand. It would seem that the volume passed, the time unknown, into the hands of General Washington, as it was found after his death in the library at Mount Vernon. It bears

* Mrs. Washington had an only daughter, the mother of a large family. The writer once heard a member of that family say, that when he first left the parental roof, the last thing his mother said to him was, "My son, neglect not the duty of secret prayer."

the marks of frequent use, and appears, in certain parts, to have engaged particular attention. There is reasonable ground of assurance that Mrs. Washington was in the habit of reading from this book, lessons of piety and wisdom to her children. Such was the pious custom of parents ; and the tradition in the family is that “it was a counsellor of past days.”

It is proposed to make a few extracts from the work, embracing especially such portions as have been evidently most frequently used and particularly referred to. There will be found in the truths and principles inculcated herein, so much that assimilates with the character and habits of Washington, that it is hard to avoid the persuasion that he was familiar with the subject-matter of the volume, either through the early instructions of his mother, or by the diligent study thereof at a subsequent period of his life.

From the treatise on “Humility,” the fifth in the volume, we make the following extracts :—

“ But on the other side, an humble man leans not to his own understanding ; he is sensible of the deficiency of his own power and wisdom, and trusts not in it ; he is also sensible of the all-sufficient power, wisdom and goodness of Almighty God ; and commits himself to him for counsel, guidance, direction, and strength. It is natural for any man or thing, that is sensible of his own deficiency, to seek out after that which may be a support and strength to him, and as Almighty God is essentially good and perfect, so he is (if I may use the expression) most naturally communicative of it, to any that seek unto him for it in humility and sincerity. The air does not more naturally yield to our attraction in respiration, or to in-

sinuate itself into those spaces that are receptive of it, than the Divine assistance, guidance, and beneficence, does to the desires, and exigencies, and wants, of an humble soul, sensible of its own emptiness and deficiency, and imploring the direction, guidance, and blessing, of the most wise and bountiful God. I can call *my own experience* to witness, that even in the external actions, occurrences and incidences of my whole life, I was never disappointed of the best guidance and direction, when in humility and sense of my own deficiency, and diffidence of my own ability to direct myself, or to grapple with the difficultes of my life, I have with humility and sincerity, implored the secret direction and guidance of the Divine Wisdom and Providence. And I dare therein appeal to the vigilant and strict observation of any man's experience, whether he has not found the same experience in relation to himself, and his own actions and successes ; and whether those counsels and purposes which have been taken up after an humble invocation of the Divine direction, have not been always most successful in the end.

" Consider, what it is thou pridest thyself in, and examine well the nature of the things themselves, how little and inconsiderable they are; at least, how uncertain and unstable they are.

" Thou hast fine gay clothes, and this makes children and young men and women proud, even to admiration. But thou art not half so fine and gay as the Peacock, Ostrich, or Parrot; nor is thy finery so much thine own, as theirs is; but it is borrowed from the silk-worm, the golden mines, the industry of the Embroiderer, Weaver, Tailor; and it is no part of thyself. And hast thou the

patience to suffer thyself to be abused into this childish, pitiful, foolish pride ?

“ Thou hast it may be wealth, stores of money, but how much of it is of use to thee ? That which thou spendest, is gone ; that which thou keepest, is as insignificant as so much dirt or clay ; only thy care about it makes thy life the more uneasy.

* * * * *

“ Thou hast honour, esteem ; thou art deceived, thou hast, it not, he hath it that gives it thee, and which he may detain from thee at pleasure. But suppose it were as fixed and stable a reputation and honour, as a rock of marble or adamant, and that it were the best kind of honour imaginable, namely, the result of thy virtue and merit ; yet still it is but a shadow, a reflection of that virtue or worth, which if thou art proud of, thou degradest into vanity and ostentation ; and canst thou think it reasonable to be proud of the shadow, where thou oughtest not to be proud of that worth that causeth it ?

“ Again ; thou hast power, art in great place and authority ; but thou art mistaken in this, the power thou hast, is not inherent in thyself. One of the meanest of those whom it may be thou oppressest, is inherently as powerful as thee, and could, it may be, over-match thee in strength, wit, or policy ; but the power thou hast is, (next to the dispensation of Divine Providence) from those men, that either by their promises, faith or voluntary assistance, have invested thee with this power. This power is nothing inherent in thee, but it depends upon the fidelity or assistance of others, which if they either

by perfidiousness to thee, or resistance against thee, or withdrawing their assistance from thee, shall call again home to themselves, thou art like Sampson having lost his locks. *Thy strength will go from thee, and thou wilt become weak, and be like another man.*"

The treatise on "Redeeming Time," seems to have engaged particular attention. We make a few quotations which we regard as appropriate.

" How time is to be redeemed. The particular methods of husbanding time under both the former relations, viz., in relation to opportunity, and in relation to our time of life, shall be promiscuously set down. Now the actions of our lives may be distinguished into several kinds, and in relation to those several actions, will the employments of our time be diversified. 1. There are *actions natural*; such as eating, drinking, sleep, motion, rest. 2. Actions *civil*; as provision for families, bearing of public offices in times of peace or war ; moderate recreations and diversions ; employments in civil vocations, as Agriculture, Mechanical Trades, Liberal Professions. 3. Actions *moral*; whether relating to ourselves, as sobriety, temperance, moderation, or relating to others, as acts of justice, charity, compassion, liberality. 4. or lastly, actions *religious*; relating to Almighty God, as invocation, thanksgiving, inquiring into his works, will, obedience to his law, and commands, observing the solemn seasons of his worship and service, and, which must go through and give a tincture to all the rest, a habit of fear of him, love to him, humility and integrity of heart and soul before him ; and in sum, a habit of religion towards

God in his Son Jesus Christ, which is the one thing necessary, and overweighs all the rest.

* * * * *

“Much time might be saved and redeemed, in retrenching the unnecessary waste thereof in our ordinary sleep, attiring and dressing ourselves, and the length of our meals, as breakfast, dinners, suppers ; which, especially in this latter age, and among people of the better sort, are protracted to an immoderate and excessive length.

“ Beware of too much *recreation*. Some bodily exercise is necessary, for sedentary men especially ; but let it not be too frequent, nor too long. Gaming Taverns, and Plays, as they are pernicious, and corrupt youth ; so if they had no other fault, yet they are justly to be declined in respect of their excessive expense of time, and habituating men to idleness and vain thoughts, and disturbing passions, when they are past, as well as while they are used. Let no recreations of any long continuance be used in the morning, for they hazard the loss or discomposure of the whole day after.

“ Be obstinately constant to your devotions at certain set times, and be sure to spend the Lord’s day entirely in those religious duties proper for it ; and let nothing but an inevitable necessity divert you from it.

“ Be industrious and faithful in your *calling*. The merciful God has not only indulged us with a far greater portion of time for our ordinary occasions, than he has reserved to himself, but also enjoins and requires our industry and diligence in it. And remember, that you observe that industry and diligence, not only as the means of acquiring a competency for yourself and your family, but also as an act of obedience to his command and ordi-

nance, by means whereof, you make it not only an act of civil conversation, but of obedience to Almighty God ; and so it becomes in a manner spiritualized into an act of religion.

“ W hatever you do, be very careful to retain in your heart a *habit of religion*, that may be always about you, and keep your heart and life always as in his presence, and tending towards him. This will be continually with you, and put itself into acts, even though you are not in a solemn posture of religious worship, and will lend you multitudes of religious applications to God, upon all occasions and interventions, which will not at all hinder you in any measure, in your secular concerns, but better and further you. It will make you faithful in your calling, through reflection on the presence and command of Him you fear and love. It will make you thankful for all successes and supplies ; temperate and sober in all your natural actions ; just and faithful in all your dealings ; patient and contented in all your disappointments and crosses ; and actually consider and intend His honour in all you do ; and will give a tincture of religion and devotion upon all your secular employments, and turn those very actions, which are materially civil or natural, into the very true and formal nature of religion, and make your whole life to be an uninterrupted life of religion and duty to God. For this habit of piety in your soul, will not only not lie sleeping and inactive, but almost in every hour of the day, will put forth actual exertions of itself in applications of short occasional prayers, thanksgivings, dependence, resort unto that God that is always near you, and lodgeth in a manner in your heart by his fear, and love, and habitual religion towards him. And by this

means you do effectually, and in the best manner, redeem your time."

But that part of the volume specially deserving attention, as exhibiting a singularly accurate counterpart of the character of Washington, is the treatise styled "The Great Audit," with "The Account of The Good Steward." In this production we have the final judgment supposed—all mankind standing before the bar of God, who submits to each a charge, and receives from the good steward an account of his life. In the charge, among other things, we have the following :

" 1. I have given unto you all your senses, and principally those two great senses of discipline, your sight and your hearing.

" Item. I have given unto you all, Understanding and Reason, to be a guide of your actions, and to some of you more eminent degrees thereof.

" Item. I have given you all, Memory, a treasury of things past, heard, and observed.

" Item. I have given you a Conscience to direct you, and to check you in your miscarriages, and to encourage you in well-doing ; and I have furnished that Conscience of yours with light, and principles of truth and practice, conformable to my will.

" Item. I have given you the advantage of Speech, whereby to communicate your minds to one another, and to instruct and advantage one another by the help thereof.

" Item. I have given over to you the rule and dominion over my creatures, allowing you the use of them for your food, raiment, and other conveniences.

" Item. Besides these common talents, I have enriched some of you with special and eminent talents above

others. I have given such great learning and knowledge in the works of Nature, Arts and Sciences ; great prudence and wisdom in the conduct of affairs, elocution, excellent education. I have given you a firm and healthy constitution, strength, beauty and comeliness ; also great affluence of wealth and riches, eminence of place, and power and honour ; great reputation and esteem in the world ; great success in enterprizes and undertakings, public and private. Christian and liberal education you have had ; counsel and advice of faithful and judicious friends ; good laws in the place and country where you live ; the written word of God acquainting you with my will, and the way to eternal life ; the word preached by able and powerful ministers thereof ; the sacraments both for your initiation and confirmation," &c. &c.

In answer to these things the good steward is represented as giving in his account. Among many other things which he is supposed to say, the following are put into his mouth.

" As to all the blessings and talents wherewith thou hast entrusted me—I have looked up to thee with a thankful heart, as the only author and giver of them. I have looked upon myself as unworthy of them. I have looked upon them as committed to my trust and stewardship, to manage them for the ends that they were given, the honour of my Lord and Master. I have therefore been watchful and sober in the use and exercise of them, lest I should be unfaithful in them. If I have at any time, through weakness, or inadvertence, or temptation, misemployed any of them, I have been restless, till I have in some measure rectified my miscarriage, by repentance and amendment.

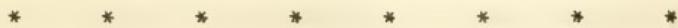
"As touching my conscience and the light thou hast given me in it.—It has been my care to improve that natural light, and to furnish it with the best principles I could. Before I had the knowledge of thy word, I got as much furniture as I could from the writings of the best moralists, and the examples of the best men ; after I had the light of thy word, I furnished it with those most pure and unerring principles that I found in it. I have been very jealous either of wounding, or grieving, or discouraging, or deadening my conscience. I have therefore chosen rather to forbear that which seemed but indifferent, lest there might be somewhat in it that might be unlawful ; and would rather gratify my conscience with being too scrupulous, than displease or disquiet it by being too ventures. I have still chosen rather to forbear what might probably be lawful, than to do that which might be possibly unlawful ; because I could not err in the former, I might in the latter. If things were disputable whether they might be done, I rather chose to forbear because the lawfulness of my forbearance was unquestionable.

"Concerning my speech, I have always been careful that I offend not with my tongue ; my words have been few, unless necessity or thy honour required more speech than ordinary ; my words have been true, representing things as they were ; and sincere, bearing conformity to my heart and mind. I have esteemed it the most natural and excellent use of my tongue, to set forth thy glory, goodness, power, wisdom and truth ; to instruct others, as I had opportunity, in the knowledge of thee, in their duty to thee, to themselves and others ; to reprove vice and sin, to encourage virtue and good living, to convince of errors, to maintain the truth, to call up-

on thy name, and by vocal-prayers to sanctify my tongue, and to fix my thoughts to the duty about which I was ; to persuade to peace and charity and good works.

“ Touching thy creatures, and the use of them, and the dominion over them, I have esteemed them thine in propriety : thou hast committed unto me the use, and a subordinate dominion over them ; yet I ever esteemed myself accountable to thee for them, and therefore I have received them with thankfulness unto thee, the great Lord both of them and me. When the earth yielded me a good crop of corn, or other fruits ; when flocks increased ; when my honest labours brought me in a plentiful or convenient supply, I looked up to thee as the Giver, to thy Providence and blessing, as the source of all my increase. I did not sacrifice to my own net, or industry or prudence, but I received all as the gracious and bountiful returns of thy liberal hand ; I looked upon every grain of corn that I sowed as buried and lost, unless thy power quickened and revived it ; I esteemed the best production would have been but stalk and straw, unless thou hadst increased it ; I esteemed my own hand and industry but impotent, unless thou hadst blessed ; for it is thy blessing that maketh rich, and it is thou that givest power to get wealth.

“ I esteemed it my duty to make a return of this my acknowledgment, by giving the tribute of my increase in the maintenance of thy ministers, and the relief of the poor ; and I esteemed the practice enjoined to thy ancient people of giving the tenth of their increase, not only a sufficient warrant, but instruction to me, under the Gospel, to do the like.



"Concerning human prudence, and understanding in affairs, and dexterity in the management of them.—I have always been careful to mingle justice and honesty with my prudence; and have always esteemed prudence, actuated by injustice and falsity, the arrantest and most devilish practice in the world, because it prostitutes thy gift to the service of Hell, and mingles a beam of thy Divine excellence, with an extract of the devil's furnishing, making a man so much the worse by how much he is wiser than others. I always thought that wisdom, which in a tradesman, and in a politician, was mingled with deceit, falsity, and injustice, deserved the same name; only the latter is so much the worse, because it was of the more public and general concernment; yet because I have often observed great employments, especially in public affairs, are sometimes under great temptations of mingling too much craft with prudence, and then to miscall it, policy, I have as much as may be, avoided such temptations, and if I have met with them, I have resolutely rejected them.

"I have always observed, that honesty and plain-dealing in transactions, as well public as private, is the best and soundest prudence and policy, and commonly at the long run over-matches craft and subtlety; for the deceived and deceiver are thine, and thou art privy to the subtlety of the one, and the simplicity of the other; and as the great observer and ruler of men, dost dispense success and disappointments accordingly.

"As human prudence is abused if mingled with falsity and deceit, though the end be ever so good, so it is much more debased, if directed to a bad end; to the dishonour of thy name, the oppression of thy people, the

corrupting of thy worship or truth, or to execute any injustice towards any person. It hath been my care as not to err in the manner, so neither in the end, of the exercising of thy Providence. I have ever esteemed my prudence then best employed, when it was exercised in the preservation and support of thy truth, in the upholding of thy faithful ministers, in countermining, discovering, and disappointing the designs of evil and treacherous men, in delivering the oppressed, in righting the injured, in preventing of wars and discords, in preserving the public peace and tranquillity of the people where I live ; and in all those offices incumbent upon me by thy Providence under every relation.

“ When my end was most unquestionably good, I ever then took most heed that the means were suitable and justifiable. Because the better the end was, the more easily are we cozened into the use of ill means to effect it. We are too apt to dispense with ourselves in the practice of what is amiss, in order to the accomplishing of an end that is good ; we are apt, while with great intenseness of mind we gaze upon the end, not to take care what course we take so we attain it ; and we are apt to think that God will dispense with, or at least overlook, the miscarriages in our attempts, if the end be good. Because many times, if not most times, thy name and honour do more suffer by attempting a good end by bad means, than by attempting both a bad end, and by bad means. For bad ends are suitable to bad means ; they are alike ; and it doth not immediately as such concern thy honour. But every thing that is good hath somewhat of thee in it ; thy name, and thy nature, and thy honour is written upon it ; and the blemish that is cast

upon it, is, in some measure, cast upon thee ; and the evil, and scandal, and infamy, that is in the means, is cast upon the end, and doth disparage and blemish it, and consequently it dishonours thee. To rob for burnt-offerings, and to lie for God, is a greater disservice to thy majesty, than to rob for rapine or to lie for advantage.

" Whensoever my prudence was successful, in the attainment of a good end, I ever gave thy name the glory, and that in sincerity. I have known some men, (and if a man will observe his own heart, he will find it there also, unless it be strictly denied,) that will give God the glory of the success of a good enterprize, but yet with a kind of secret reservation of somewhat of praise for themselves, their prudence, conduct, and wisdom ; and will be glad to hear of it, and secretly angry and discontented if they miss it ; and many times give God the glory, with a kind of ostentation and vanity in doing so. But I have given thee the glory of it because of my very judgment, that it is due, and due only to thee. I do know that that prudence that I have, comes from thee ; and I do know that it is thy providential ordering of occurrences, that makes prudential deliberations successful ; and more is due unto thy ordering, disposing, fitting, timing, directing of all in seeming casualties, than there is to that human counsel by which it is moved or seems to be moved ; the least whereof, if not marshalled by thy hand, would have shattered and broken the counsel into a thousand pieces. Thou givest the advice by thy wisdom, and dost second it by thy Providence ; thou dealest by us, as we do by our children, when we set them to lift up a heavy weight, and we lift with them ; and we again

are too like those children that think we moved the weight, when we moved not a grain of it.

" In reference to my health, I always avoided these two extremes : I never made it my idol, I declined not the due employment of my body in the works of charity or necessity, or my ordinary calling, out of a vain fear of injuring my health ; for I reckoned my health given me in order to these employments. And as he is over-careful, that will not put on his clothes, for fear of wearing them out, or use his axe, for fear of hurting it ; so he gives but an ill account of a healthy body, that dares not employ it in a suitable occupation, for fear of hurting his health. Nor was I vainly prodigal of it, but careful in a due manner to preserve it. I would decline places of infection, if I had no special duties that brought me to them, also unnecessary journeys, exposing myself to unnecessary dangers, especially intemperance in eating and drinking.

" Touching my eminence of place or power in this world, this is my account. I never sought or desired it, and that for these reasons. First, because I easily saw that it was rather a burden than a privilege. It made my charge and my account the greater, my contentment and my rest the less. I found enough in it to make me decline it in respect of myself, but not any thing that could make me seek or desire it. That external glory and splendour also that attended it, I esteemed as vain and frivolous in itself, a bait to allure vain and inconsiderate persons, not valuable enough to invite a considerate judgment to desire or undertake it. I esteemed them as the gilding that covers a bitter pill, and I looked through this dress and outside, and easily

saw that it covered a state obnoxious to danger, solicitude, care, trouble, envy, discontent, disquietude, temptation, and vexation. I esteemed it a condition, which, if there were any distempers abroad, they would infallibly be hunting and pushing at it ; and if it found any corruptions within, either of pride, vain-glory, insolence, vindictiveness, or the like, it would be sure to draw them out and set them to work. And if they prevailed, it made my power and greatness, not only my burden but my sin ; if they prevailed not, yet it required a most watchful, assiduous, and severely vigilant labour and industry, to suppress them.

“ When I undertook any place of power or eminence, first, I looked to my call thereunto, to be such as I might discern to be thy call, not my own ambition. Second, that the place were such as might be answered by suitable abilities, in some measure, to perform. Third, that my end in it might not be the satisfaction of any pride, ambition, or vanity in myself, but to serve thy Providence and my generation faithfully. In all which, my undertaking was not an act of my choice, but of my duty.

“ In the holding or exercising these places, I kept my heart humble ; I valued not myself one rush the more for it. First, because I easily found that that base affection of pride, which commonly is the fly that haunts such employments, would render me dishonourable to thy majesty, and disserviceable in the employment. Second, because I easily saw great places were slippery places, the mark of envy. It was, therefore, always my care so to behave myself in them, as I might be in a capacity to leave them, and so to leave them, that when I had left them, I might have no scars and blemishes stick upon me. I

carried, therefore, the same evenness of temper in holding them, as might become me, if I were without them.— Third, I found enough in great employments, to make me sensible of the danger, troubles, and cares of them ; enough to make me humble, but not enough to make me proud and haughty.

“ I never made use of my power or greatness to serve my own turns, either to heap up riches, or to oppress my neighbour, or to revenge injuries, or to uphold injustice. For, though others thought me great, I knew myself to be still the same, and in all things, besides the due execution of my place, my deportment was just the same as if I had been no such man ; for first, I knew that I was but thy steward and minister, and placed there to serve thee, and those ends which thou proposedst in my preferment, and not to serve myself, much less my passions or corruptions. And further, I very well and practically knew, that place, and honour, and preferment, are things extrinsical, and form no part of the man. His value and estimate before, and under, and after his greatness, is still the same in itself, as the counter that now stands for a penny, anon for six-pence, and then for twelve-pence, is still the same counter, though its place and extrinsical denomination be changed.

“ I improved the opportunity of my place, eminence, and greatness, to serve thee and my country in it, with all vigilance, diligence and fidelity. I protected, countenanced, and encouraged thy worship, name, day, and people. I did faithfully execute justice according to that station I had. I rescued the oppressed from the cruelty, malice, and insolence of their oppressors. I cleared the innocent from unjust calumnies and reproaches. I was in-

strumental to place those in offices, places, and employments of trust and consequence, that were honest and faithful. I removed those that were dishonest, irreligious, false, or unjust, &c.

" Touching my reputation and credit, I never affected the reputation of being rich, great, crafty, or politick ; but I esteemed much a deserved reputation of justice, honesty, integrity, virtue, and piety.

" I never thought that reputation was the thing primarily to be looked after in the exercise of virtue, for that were to affect the substance for the sake of the shadow, which had been a kind of levity and weakness of mind ; but I looked at virtue, and the worth of it, as that which was the first desirable, and reputation, as a fair and useful accession to it.

" The reputation of justice and honesty, I was always careful to keep untainted, upon these grounds. First, because a blemish in my reputation would be dishonourable to thee. Second, it would be an abuse of a talent which thou hadst committed to me. Third, it would be a weakening of an instrument which thou hadst put into my hands, upon the strength whereof much good might be done by me.

" Though I have loved my reputation, and have been vigilant not to lose, or impair it, by my own default or neglect, yet I have looked upon it as a brittle thing, a thing that the devil aims to hit in a special manner, a thing that is much in the power of a false report, a mistake, a misapprehension, to wound and hurt ; and notwithstanding all my care, I am at the mercy of others, without God's wonderful, over-ruling providence. And as my reputation is the esteem that others have of me, so

that esteem may be blemished without my default. I have, therefore, always taken this care, not to set my heart upon my reputation. I will use all fidelity and honesty, and take care it shall not be lost by any default of mine ; and if, notwithstanding all this, my reputation be soiled by evil, or envious men, or angels, I will patiently bear it, and content myself with the serenity of my own conscience.

“ When thy honour, or the good of my country, was concerned, I then thought it was a seasonable time to lay out my reputation for the advantage of either, and to act with it, and by it, and upon it, to the highest, in the use of all lawful means. And upon such an occasion, the counsel of Mordecai to Esther was my encouragement—‘ Who knoweth whether God hath not given thee this reputation and esteem for such a time as this ? ’ ”

In these striking selections, from this excellent production, our readers will doubtless see reason for the belief, that no small influence was contributed thereby towards the formation of Washington’s character. Here we might stop, in the assurance that such a persuasion would be general. But we cannot forbear another quotation, because of the singular coincidence of its sentiments with those which are known to have distinguished the Father of his Country. We cite the discourse in which the author treats “ Of Wisdom and the Fear of God.” His language is :—

“ Sincerity, uprightness, integrity, and honesty, are certainly true and real wisdom. Let any man observe it where he will, an hypocrite, or dissembler, or double-hearted man, though he may shuffle it out for awhile, yet at the long run, he is discovered, and disappointed,

and betrays very much folly at the latter end ; when a plain, sincere, honest man, holds it out to the very last ; so that the proverb is most true, that "*Honesty is the best Policy.*" Now the great privilege of the fear of God is, that it makes the heart sincere and upright, and even that will certainly make the words and actions so. For he is under the sense of the inspection and animadversion of that God who searches the heart ; and therefore, he dares not lie, nor dissemble, nor flatter, nor prevaricate, because he knows the pure, all-seeing, righteous God, that loves truth and integrity, and hates lying and dissimulation, beholds and sees and observes him, and knows his thoughts, words and actions.

* * * * *

" Another great cause of folly in the world is, inadvertence, inconsideration, precipitancy, and over-hastiness in speeches or actions. If men had but the patience many times, to pause but so long in actions and speeches of moment, as might serve to repeat but the Creed or Lord's Prayer, many follies in the world would be avoided that do very much mischief, both to the parties themselves and others. And therefore, inadvertence and precipitancy in things of great moment, and that required much deliberation, must needs be a very great folly, because the consequence of miscarriage in them is of greater moment. Now the fear of God, being actually present upon the soul, and exerting itself, is the greatest motive and obligation in the world to consideration and attention, touching things to be done or said.

* * * * *

" It mightily advanceth and improveth the worth and excellency of most human actions in the world, and

makes them a nobler kind of a thing, than otherwise without it, they would be. Take a man that is employed as a statesman or politician, though he have much wisdom and prudence, it commonly degenerates into craft, and cunning, and pitiful shuffling, without the fear of God, but mingle the fear of Almighty God with that kind of wisdom, it renders it noble, and generous, and staid, and honest, and stable. Again, take a man that is much acquainted with the subtler kind of learning, as philosophy for instance, without the fear of God upon his heart, it will carry him over to pride, arrogance, self-conceit, curiosity, presumption ; but mingle it with the fear of God, it will ennable that knowledge, carry it up to the honour and glory of that God, who is the author of nature, to the admiration of his power, wisdom and goodness ; it will keep him humble, modest, sober, and yet rather with an advance, than detriment, to his knowledge."

Copious as these extracts are, from a volume which seems to have been the *vade mecum* of Washington, the indulgence of the intelligent reader is confidently anticipated. It is gratifying to know that he took delight in such a work, that he was habitually familiar with its holy and edifying instructions, and sympathized with the enlightened and pious author, in views and sentiments so exalted. In contemplating the circumstance, we feel as if a debt of gratitude was due the illustrious man, who gave himself to the labour of writing such a book, while he fulfilled those duties of his high office, which gave him an imperishable claim to the homage and gratitude of his own country. By his pre-eminent ability, and abundant labours, as the chief judicial officer of the English bench, he sustained the character of its brightest ornament, and

yet found time and means, by the admirable production before us, to confer inestimable spiritual good upon his fellow-men. It was of this valued man that one of the first of poets sung.*

————— “piety has found
Friends in the friends of science, and true pray’r
Has flow’d from lips wet with Castalian dews.
Such was thy wisdom, Newton, child-like sage !

..... And such thine, in whom
Our British Themis glорied with just cause,
Immortal Hale ! for deep discernment prais’d,
And sound integrity, not more than famed,
For sanctity of manners undefil’d.”

Nor can we forget what we owe to the kind and considerate mother, who having stored the mind of her son with the priceless wisdom of this book, gave it to him, in all probability, as the memorial of her love, when he first left her widowed habitation for the boisterous sea of life. Let the example encourage parents to imitate her maternal fidelity, and early sow the seed, which may, in a propitious soil, to ample harvests grow.

* Cowper.

CHAPTER II.

HIS RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

IMPRESSED, as we have seen, at an early age, with reverence for the Divine Being, and educated in the principles of Christianity, the next subject of inquiry claiming attention, involves the question of Washington's matured opinions, in regard to the truth of those things, which had been received by him, in the less competent season of youth. It has been affirmed by some, that whatever may have been imagined on the subject, he never did in fact fully embrace the Christian system, or admit its divine authority. To establish this point, has been a favourite design with individuals of a certain class, ever since his eminence has imparted peculiar weight to his opinions. With the motives, which have induced these statements, we have not so much to do, as with their want of claim to public confidence.

The following incident, taken from a northern journal, will at once explain the allusions just indulged, and introduce the written testimony of Washington, in favour of a sincere belief, on his part, in the truth and divinity of the Holy Scriptures.

"MESSRS EDITORS.—The publication in your last paper on the subject of the religious sentiments of Gene-

ral Washington, and other distinguished men of the revolution, reminds me of a conversation I heard some years ago on the same subject, at the residence of the late Judge Boudinot, at Newark, N. J. It was asserted by some one, that although General Washington had, in his public documents, acknowledged the existence and sovereignty of a Supreme Being, who governed and ruled the affairs of this world, yet there was no proof that he was a *Christian*, or acknowledged a divine revelation or belief in a Saviour. This, Judge Boudinot remarked, was a mistake. ‘The General,’ he observed, ‘was a Christian,’ and cited the address or circular letter* to the several governors of the different states, as a proof. This address he produced, and from it I extracted the part bearing on this subject, a copy† of which I now enclose for publication, if you think proper.”

“ The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessities and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency. They are, from this period, to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designated by Providence, for the display of human greatness and felicity. Here, they are not only surrounded with every thing, which can contribute to the completion of private

* The circular letter was dated Head-Quarters, Newburg, 8 June, 1783.

† The extract given above is somewhat more extended than the one referred to.

and domestic enjoyment, but heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a fairer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly, than a recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which, our republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire, was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition ; but at an epocha, when the rights of mankind were better understood, and more clearly defined, than at any former period. The researches of the human mind after social happiness, have been carried to a great extent : the treasures of knowledge, acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for our use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government. The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and *above all, the pure and benign light of Revelation*, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period, the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own."

Having thus supplied us, especially in the words which we have italicized, with a conclusive proof of his belief in revealed religion, we have from his pen, in the conclusion of the "Letter," if possible, a still stronger expression of his faith in the fundamental verities of the Gospel. His words are :—

"It remains then to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature at their next meeting, and that they may be considered as the legacy of one, who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the Divine benediction upon it.

"I now make it my earnest prayer, that God would have you, and the State over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren who served in the field; and finally, that he would most graciously be pleased, to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that humility and pacific temper of mind, which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion, and without an humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation."

Does the language here quoted require any comment? What more satisfactory evidence could be asked or given, of unqualified faith in Revelation as a fact, or in the doctrines announced thereby. The illustrious author dwells, delighted, on the sources of national good, distinguishing the age. He refers to education, commerce, refinement of manners, and liberality of sentiment, as promising a favourable influence; and then adds—"But, *above all, the pure and benign light of Revelation* has had a meliorating influence on mankind and increased the blessings of society." Revelation in his

view, has not only shed “light” upon the world, but that light is “pure and benign.” By it the condition of mankind has been improved, and the “blessings of society increased.” Nor does his testimony end with this strong expression of his belief. He proceeds, in the closing paragraph of this memorable letter, to give utterance to opinions, which must be regarded as still stronger than those before recorded, as more decisive of his evangelical convictions. In urging upon his fellow-citizens the amiable virtues of social life, such as justice, mercy, humility, and charity; their observance is enforced by no less a motive, than the example of Jesus Christ, as the “Divine Author of our blessed religion.” Let the reader mark the force of the language. It is not Jesus Christ “the Author,” but the “Divine Author.” Nor is it the “Divine Author of our religion,” but of our “blessed religion.”

With so good a confession before them, subject to their investigation and scrutiny, how is it, that men have professed doubt and ignorance, in relation to the religious belief of Washington. Could terms more explicit, or language more transparent, be employed to announce the honest convictions of the mind? Or was there ever an individual, on whose formal declarations of opinion, more entire reliance might be placed?

There is yet another public official expression of his religious sentiments, to which we are concerned in giving special attention. In his “Farewell Address to the People of the United States,” when retiring from the Presidential Chair, we have a forcible and unequivocal declaration of his confirmed opinions, in relation to the doctrines of Revelation. Having devoted the greater

part of his days to the service of his country—to the good of his fellow-citizens—he takes his final leave of them, and of all the employments of public life, in this Address, celebrated by a judicious writer, as “an enduring monument of the goodness of his heart, the wisdom of his head, and the eloquence of his pen.” Among many other truths of the highest political value and practical excellence, his parting advice on the subject of religion, was conveyed in the following accents of unfaltering conviction, and emphatic warning.

“ Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great pillars of human happiness; these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education, on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

“ It is substantially true, that virtue or morality, is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force, to every species of government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look

with indifference upon attempts to shake the *foundation* of the fabric?"

In the well-weighed instruction of this valuable extract, we have a vindication of evangelical doctrine, which cannot, we think, be too highly estimated. A full development of the pregnant meaning of its statements, cannot fail to give entire assurance, not only of the faith of the writer in the truth of Christianity, but also to impress us with the most gratifying views of the accuracy and soundness of his theological tenets.

That his testimony, however, may be duly appreciated, it will be necessary to consider the circumstances which induced this manly and seasonable confession, as well as the intrinsic value and orthodoxy of the truths embraced in its unequivocal terms.

The period at which the views before us were expressed, was distinguished by the alarming prevalence, in another hemisphere, of a reckless and heaven-daring spirit of infidelity. The principles of its system, industriously circulated, greedily received, and widely pervading the mass of mind in the land—if not of their first germination, yet of their rank and luxuriant growth—had already produced their own bitter fruit, in the unparalleled succession of civil commotions, tumults, conspiracies and murders, by which, the recent revolution in that afflicted country, had been signalized. Had the evil been restricted to its native clime, there had not been so much reason to assail it, or warn of its danger. Unhappily it was not so confined. Unpropitious winds had wafted the foul contagion to our distant shores, and its fatal breath was fast infecting our hitherto untainted population. The profane dogmas of the Gallic philoso-

phers, had been imbibed by some of our eminent countrymen, and diffused through their agency, were eagerly fostered by the people, in their sympathy with a nation, to whom we were under real obligations for the essential aid they had rendered us, in our recent arduous struggle for independence. But he, whom Providence had raised up, to guard the interests of America, was on his watch-tower, in the exercise of a vigilance that never slumbered. The portentous mischief did not long escape his penetrating eye. He saw it in the principles of some, secretly debauched by a foreign residence, but near his person for a time, and otherwise in his confidence. The influence of great abilities on humbler minds was not unknown to him. He could not, therefore, hesitate about his course. Impelled by his ardent love of country and honest regard for truth, he resolved to throw his weight into the scale of revealed religion, and essay to neutralize the deadly poison of infidelity, before the foundations of public and private felicity should be totally corrupted and irretrievably undermined.

In putting forth his magnanimous efforts for this end, he has not only furnished a conclusive proof of his own individual belief in Divine Revelation, as refused and denied by the new philosophy; but has left on record an imperishable memorial of the substantial agreement of his religious views, with those of the great body of orthodox believers, in every age and country. The existence of this pleasing harmony may be clearly traced, in the just and scriptural ideas advanced in the Address, as cited respecting the intimate connexion, subsisting in the economy of Heaven, betwixt *religion and morality*. We quote his words again.—“*Let us with caution indulge*

the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education, on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." The position here presented, briefly, but explicitly, appears plainly to be this.—“There is not in man, unassisted by religion, strength enough to ensure a moral life; nor motives accessible to him, sufficient to dissuade from vice, or persuade to virtue; or in other words,—the corruption of human nature is such, that immorality of life will certainly ensue, if the depraved principle is not subdued, and the heart purified by a divine influence; religion being the consecrated channel of that influence, operating on the soul directly by grace applied, or indirectly by motives competent to sway the reason and control the affections.” It may be said, that there is in the text, *a concession*, admitting an exception to the main position of the writer. That a moral life may sometimes exist without religious principle, through “the influence of refined education, on minds of peculiar structure,” is the exception alluded to. This, however, is not positively asserted by the author, but as it would seem, reluctantly “conceded.” Nor does this admission on his part, involve any surrender of the principle laid down, nothing being therein allowed, but what the scriptures admit, and experience attests, with certain limitations.

That the principal doctrine here maintained is, by no means, a favourite one with the world, is well known; nor is it always admitted in so unqualified a sense, by some, who profess acquiescence in the truth of Christianity. It

is, in fact, a view held only with decision, by the most evangelical religious communions. *The natural man* does not readily discern, nor his heart admit, that all human goodness—that every social and domestic virtue, to be perfect, must have its source in the principles of religion, implanted in the soul by a divine power. Human pride, disdaining reliance on supernatural aid, for those moral accomplishments which sustain its loudest boast, repels with scorn, a doctrine, which aims its blows unsparingly, at the foundation of its fondly-cherished and vaunted self-sufficiency.

But is not the truth in question, however refused and contradicted, susceptible of an ample and satisfactory vindication? Does it assert that, ordinarily, the life will be bad, where the restraints of religion do not exist? And may not this proposition be easily sustained? If man is a depraved creature, as all experience shows him to be, what will probably be his life, if left to the unrestrained impulse of his own wayward inclinations? Is it as true in the moral, as in the physical world, that nothing can rise above its level? Can a “clean thing be brought out of an unclean?” Will not the stream partake of the nature of the fountain?—the fruit of the quality of the tree? “Does the same fountain send forth sweet waters and bitter?” “Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?” Is there any result more certain, as a consequence of man’s moral constitution, than a life of unlimited indulgence, where the lusts and desires of the mind are inordinate, and the means of gratification within his reach? This effect must follow the violence of passion, operating on a mind destitute of moral ability, or of incli-

nation to resist the seducing charms of sensual and worldly good.

Is it, however, denied that Passion is irresistible, and a sufficiency of moral strength claimed for man, to authorize a belief in the theory of Human Virtue. Where, then, apart from religion, do you find motives, by which the love of pleasure may be dethroned, and that of moral excellence made supreme. What inducements can be held out, which shall operate effectually upon the understanding, as well as upon the affections ? If the understanding does give its cold approbation, will your boasted motives be able to curb the fury of the passions when roused into a tempest ? Whence, then, are they derived ? From a philosophic love of goodness for its own sake, or an estimate of the delights arising from its practice, or from calculations, as to the comparative advantages of Vice and Virtue ? And what are these to a man in the hour of temptation ? When passion stimulates, and appetite goads him, of what avail to restrain and allay the tumult of the soul, will fine spun moral theories be ? Or of what avail, the intimation of future inconveniences, which may never arrive, or if they do, may not be serious or difficult to bear ?

In excluding religion, then, there is no other influence left, by which the conduct of mankind can be controlled. No agency exists for rectifying the disorders of the soul, nor does any motive remain, of sufficient power, to operate on the judgment, or affect the heart. Such a system, therefore, of necessity, is destructive of all genuine morality, and giving up mankind at large, to the blind and lawless impulses of sinful passions, turns

the world into a dreary scene of confusion, tumult, and crime.

In regard to the *concession*, implying the efficacy of causes, other than those of religion, in producing the fruits of morality—there is no ground for serious doubt as to the fact. Many there are in society, who have been rendered useful members thereof, by influences, far less sacred than those, which come down from above. Refined education, good examples, respectable associations, a high standard of morals in the community, a regard to secular interest—all these have great power over the minds of men, inspiring them with just and liberal sentiments, and gradually new-modeling the character, making them upright, honest, truthful, humane, gentle, courteous.—And yet, so far do these things fall short of the fruits of true religion, in respect to uniformity of result, number, and quality of the virtues produced—that the principle of the “Address,” remains unshaken, by all that has been conceded. Of how much greater worth, then, will that principle appear, when it is remembered, that besides the morality arising from other causes, being of meagre and stunted growth—it is but a very small proportion of mankind, that share even this equivocal and unequal agency. This one consideration, of itself, furnishes a conclusive answer to every vain objection, and gives irresistible energy to the argument in favour of that divine system, which, all-powerful to bless, alone can become universal, and influential alike with high and low, rich and poor, bond and free.

As further illustrative and explanatory of the views contained in the important extract, on the statements of which we have ventured a few reflections, it is proposed

to introduce here some remarks, made by distinguished authors, living and dead, in reference to the same points. It will be found, that these remarks reflect an important light on the object of our present investigation.

We submit, in the first place, some appropriate observations, from the distinguished pen of Robert Hall, published in England, in the year 1800—about four years after the publication of the “Farewell Address.” The subject of his remarks, was “Modern Infidelity,” as then, and for some years before, widely prevalent in Europe. The beauty of the sentiments, and their relation to the subject in hand, will no doubt excuse the length of the citation.

“The skeptical or irreligious system, subverts the whole foundation of morals. It may be assumed, as a maxim, that no person can be required to act contrary to his greatest good, or his highest interest, comprehensively viewed in relation to the whole duration of his being. It is often our duty, to forego our own interest *partially*, to sacrifice a smaller pleasure for the sake of a greater, to incur a present evil in pursuit of a distant good of more consequence. In a word, to arbitrate among interfering claims of inclination, is the moral arithmetic of human life. But to risk the happiness of the whole duration of our being in any case whatever, were it possible, would be foolish; because the sacrifice must by the nature of it, be so great, as to preclude the possibility of compensation.

“As the present world, on skeptical principles, is the only place of recompense, whenever the practice of virtue fails to promote the greatest sum of present good—cases which often occur in reality, and much oftener in

appearance—every motive to virtuous conduct is superseded; a deviation from rectitude becomes the part of wisdom; and should the path of virtue, in addition to this, be obstructed by disgrace, torment or death, to persevere, would be madness and folly, and a violation of the first and most essential law of nature. Virtue, on these principles, being in numberless instances, at war with self-preservation, never can or ought to become, a fixed habit of the mind.

“The system of infidelity is not only incapable of arming virtue for great and trying occasions, but leaves it unsupported in the most ordinary occurrences. In vain will its advocates appeal to a moral sense, to benevolence, and sympathy; for it is undeniable, that these impulses may be overcome. In vain will they expatiate on the tranquillity and pleasure attendant on a virtuous course: for, though you may remind the offender, that in disregarding them, he has violated his nature, and that a conduct consistent with them, is productive of much internal satisfaction; yet, if he reply that his taste is of a different sort, that there are other gratifications which he values more, and that every man must choose his own pleasures, the argument is at an end.

“Rewards and punishments, assigned by infinite power, afford a palpable and pressing motive, which can never be neglected, without renouncing the character of a rational creature: but tastes and relishes, are not to be prescribed.

“A motive, in which the reason of man shall acquiesce, enforcing the practice of virtue at all times and seasons, enters into the very essence of moral obligation. Modern

infidelity supplies no such motives: it is, therefore, essentially and infallibly, a system of enervation, turpitude, and vice.

"This chasm in the construction of morals, can only be supplied, by the firm belief of a rewarding and avenging Deity, *who binds duty and happiness, though they may seem distant, in an indissoluble chain*; without which, whatever usurps the name of virtue, is not a principle, but a feeling; not a determinate rule, but a fluctuating expedient, varying with the tastes of individuals, and changing with the scenes of life.

"Nor is this the only way, in which infidelity subverts the foundation of morals. All reasoning on morals presupposes a distinction between inclinations and duties, affections and rules. The former prompt, the latter prescribe. The former supply motives to action; the latter regulate and control it. Hence, it is evident, if virtue have any just claim to authority, it must be under the latter of these notions; that is, under the character of a law. It is under this notion, *in fact*, that its dominion has ever been acknowledged to be paramount and supreme.

"But without the intervention of a superior will, it is impossible there should be any moral laws, except in the lax metaphorical sense, in which we speak of the laws of matter and motion. Men being essentially equal, morality is only a stipulation, or silent compact, into which every individual is supposed to enter, as far as suits his convenience, and for the breach of which, he is accountable to nothing but his own mind. His own mind is his law, his tribunal, and his judge!

"Two consequences, the most disastrous to society,

will inevitably follow the general prevalence of this system ;—the frequent perpetration of great crimes, and the total absence of great virtues.

“I. In those conjunctures which tempt avarice, or inflame ambition, when a crime flatters with the prospect of impunity, and the certainty of immense advantage, what is to restrain an atheist from its commission ? To say that remorse will deter him, is absurd ; for remorse, as distinguished from pity, is the sole offspring of religious belief, the extinction of which, is the great purpose of the infidel philosophy.

“The dread of punishment, or infamy, from his fellow-creatures, will be an equally ineffectual barrier ; because, crimes are only committed under such circumstances, as suggest the hope of concealment : not to say that crimes themselves will soon lose their infamy and their horror, under the influences of that system, which destroys the sanctity of virtue, by converting it into a low calculation of worldly interest. Here, the sense of an ever-present Ruler, and of an avenging Judge, is of the most awful and indispensable necessity ; as it is that alone which impresses on all crimes the character of *folly*, shows that *duty and interest in every instance coincide*, and, that the most prosperous career of vice, the most brilliant successes of criminality, are but an *accumulation of wrath against the day of wrath*.

“As the frequent perpetration of great crimes, is an inevitable consequence of the diffusion of skeptical principles, so, to understand this consequence in its full extent, we must look beyond their immediate effects, and consider the disruption of social ties, the destruction of confidence, the terror, suspicion, and hatred, which must prevail in that state of society, in which barbarous

deeds are familiar. The tranquillity which pervades a well-ordered community, and the mutual good offices which bind its members together, are founded on an implied confidence in the indisposition to annoy, in the justice, humanity, and moderation of those among whom we dwell. So that the worst consequence of crimes is, that they impair the stock of public charity, and general tenderness. The dread and hatred of our species would infallibly be grafted on a conviction that we were exposed, every moment, to the surges of an unbridled ferocity, and that nothing, but the power of the magistrate, stood between us and the daggers of assassins. In such a state, laws, deriving no support from public manners, are unequal to the task of curbing the fury of the passions; which, from being concentrated into selfishness, fear, and revenge, acquire new force. Terror and suspicion beget cruelty, and inflict injuries by way of prevention. Pity is extinguished in the stronger impulse of self-preservation. The tender and generous affections are crushed, and nothing is seen but the retaliation of wrongs, the fierce, and unmitigated struggle for superiority. This is but a faint sketch of the incalculable calamities and horrors we must expect, should we be so unfortunate as ever to witness the triumph of modern infidelity.

"2. This system is a soil as barren of great and sublime virtues, as it is prolific in crimes. By great and sublime virtues, are meant those which are called into action on great and trying occasions, which demand the sacrifice of the dearest interests and prospects of human life, and sometimes of live itself: the virtues, in a word, which by their rarity and splendour draw admiration, and have rendered illustrious the character of patriots,

martyrs, and confessors. It requires but little reflection to perceive, that whatever veils a future world, and contracts the limits of existence, within the present life, must tend, in a proportionable degree, to diminish the grandeur, and narrow the sphere of human agency.

"As well might you expect exalted sentiments of justice from a professed gamester, as look for noble principles in the man whose hopes and fears are all suspended on the present moment, and who stakes the whole happiness of his being on the events of this vain and fleeting life. If he be ever impelled to the performance of great achievements, in a good cause, it must be solely by the hope of fame; a motive which, besides that it makes virtue the servant of opinion, usually grows weaker at the approach of death, and which, however it may surmount the love of existence in the heat of battle, or in the moment of public observation, can seldom be expected to operate with much force on the retired duties of a private station.

"In affirming that infidelity is unfavourable to the higher class of virtues, we are supported, as well by facts, as by reasoning. We should be sorry to load our adversaries with unmerited reproach: but to what history, to what record will they appeal, for the traits of moral greatness exhibited by their disciples? Where shall we look for the trophies of infidel magnanimity, or atheistical virtue? Not that we mean to accuse them of inactivity: they have recently filled the world with the fame of their exploits; exploits of a different kind indeed, but of imperishable memory and disastrous lustre.

"Though it is confessed, great and splendid actions are not the ordinary employment of life, but must, from

their nature, be reserved for high and eminent occasions ; yet that system is essentially defective which leaves no room for their production. They are important, both from their immediate advantage and their remoter influence. *They often save, and always illustrate, the age and nation in which they appear.* They raise the standard of morals ; they arrest the progress of degeneracy ; they diffuse a lustre over the path of life : monuments of the greatness of the human soul, they present to the world the august image of virtue in her sublimest form, from which streams of light and glory issue to remote times and ages, while their commemoration, by the pen of historians and poets, awakens, in distant bosoms, the sparks of kindred excellence.

“ Combine the frequent and familiar perpetration of atrocious deeds with the dearth of great and generous actions, and you have the exact picture of that condition of society which complete the degradation of the species—the frightful contrast of dwarfish virtues and gigantic vices, where every thing good is mean and little, and every thing evil is rank and luxuriant : a dead and sickening uniformity prevails, broken only at intervals by volcanic eruptions of anarchy and crime.”

We have before us the views of another author, so fully concurring in the tenet under consideration, and so amply confirming it, by his lucid expositions of sacred truth, that we cannot forbear inserting his excellent remarks. The author, (Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow,) in one, of a series of “Lectures on Christian Ethics,” recently delivered by him, has the following language :—

“ As there is a necessary harmony between the divine character and the divine will, whatever contains in it

an intimation that ‘God is light,’ and that ‘God is love,’ may be regarded as containing in it also a voice to all his intelligent creatures. ‘Be ye holy, for I am holy;’ ‘Be ye merciful, as your Father, who is in heaven, is merciful.’ This is, in truth, the sum of human virtue, and the sum of *the motives* to the practice of it: and this, were the ears of men but open to hear it, is the concurrent voice of providence, and of revelation. By this remark, I am naturally led to the proper subject of the present discourse, *the identity of morality and religion*; a subject, which the preceding observations have not only been intended to introduce, but in part prospectively, to illustrate.

“The words which I read as my text, express, with clearness and emphasis, this identity; ‘This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments.’ The ‘keeping of God’s commandments’ is a comprehensive definition of morality; ‘the love of God’ is the sum of religious principle; and the text affirms, ‘This is the love of God, that we keep his commandments.’ The meaning is, that there is no love of God without the keeping of his commandments; and that there is no keeping of his commandments without love to God: a statement which amounts to the same thing as this other, **THAT THERE IS NO RELIGION WITHOUT MORALITY, AND THAT THERE IS NO MORALITY WITHOUT RELIGION.** He who loves God keeps the commandments in principle; he who keeps the commandments loves God in action. Love is obedience in the heart; obedience is love in the life. *Morality, then, is religion in practice; religion is morality in principle.*

“I know few things more preposterous in theory, or

more mischievous in effect, than the prevailing divorce between religion and morality: the manner in which they are not only spoken of, in the current vocabulary of the world, but even treated in the disquisitions of philosophy, as if they were separable and separate things. As to the world, you cannot but be aware how indefinite is the meaning of *virtue*, and with what variety of application, but in them all with what convenient vagueness and generality, the designation is bestowed of *a good man*. On Change, the good man is the man who has sufficient means, and sufficient honour, to pay his debts. In the ordinary intercourse of life, its most common application is to the relative and social virtues, and especially those which impart confidence between man and man; without which, it is universally felt, the transactions of business would be at a stand, the mutual dependence of men upon each other could have no salutary operation, and the very frame-work of society would be dissolved.

“ These virtues, the virtues of truth, and integrity, and honour, especially when united with generosity and practical kindness, will secure the designation, although there should be no very rigid adherence to those of temperance and chastity; but if these, in any unusual degree, are united with the former, the man becomes a paragon of goodness, the very best of men, and sure of heaven, if any on earth are. The union described is a rarity, except under the superadded influence of religious principle: but we shall suppose it. We shall suppose a man personally chaste and sober in his habits of life, amiable in its domestic relations, honourable in all its transactions, veracious in every utterance, and faithful

in every trust ; and withal, humane and generous in his disposition and practice ; what, it may be added, can be wished for more ? ‘ What lacketh he yet ? ’ I answer, in one word, *godliness* ; that which is entitled to the precedence of all these virtues—nay, more, that which ought to preside over them all, and to infuse its spirit into them all, and without which they are destitute of the very first principle of true morality.

“ But it is not in the customary phraseology of the world only, and the loose conceptions of which that phraseology is the vehicle, that religion and morality are severed. It is lamentable to find, in the writings of ethical philosophers, the same dissociating principle ; discussions on morals, such as would require no very material alteration to accommodate them to atheism ; and even, at times, in the treatises of philosophical divines, so indistinct a recognition of the basis on which the whole system of ethics ought ever to rest. It is far otherwise in the Holy Scriptures : and I cannot but regard the manner in this, and other respects, in which these writings uniformly treat the subject of morals, as forming one, and not the least considerable, of the internal evidences of their divine original. It is one of the distinguishing peculiarities of all Bible morality, that it *begins with God*,—that it makes *godliness* its first and fundamental principle. The first commandment, in the moral code of the Bible, is a requisition for God : ‘ Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, and with all thy mind.’ Thus God stands first. For him is claimed the throne of the heart. The foundation of all morals is laid in devotion : no right moral principle is there admitted to

exist, independent of a primary and supreme regard to Deity. No true goodness is acknowledged without this. There is no such anomaly to be found there, as that which meets us so frequently in the nomenclature of the world's morality—a good heart, or a good man, without the principles and sentiments of godliness. According to its representations, the religious principle is the first principle of all morals ;—a good heart is a heart in which the fear and the love of God reign ; and a good man, a man of whose life the love and the fear of God are the uniform regulators. Every thing assuming the name of virtue, that has not these principles for its foundation, is there set aside, as coin that has not the image and superscription of Heaven, ‘reprobate silver’—‘weighed in the balances and found wanting.’”

The incidental remarks of this author, respecting the virtuous deportment of some worldly men, might be referred to as shedding light upon the concession before alluded to on the same subject. But this point is so fully and beautifully unfolded by another distinguished living writer, and his remarks are so strikingly confirmatory of the implied views of Washington, that the indulgence of our readers must be asked for a few of his eloquent observations. The hand of a master will be traced in the graphic sketches annexed.

In a Discourse on “The Emptiness of Natural Virtue,” Dr. Chalmers writes : “Let us suppose the heart to be furnished, not merely with the finest sensibilities of our nature, but with its most upright and honourable principles. Let us conceive a man, whose pulse beats high with the pride of integrity; whose every word carries security along with it; whose faithfulness in the

walks of business, has stood the test of many fluctuations ; who, amid all the varieties of his fortune, has nobly sustained the glories of an untainted character ; and whom we see, by the salutations of the market-place, to be acknowledged and revered by all, as the most respectable of the citizens. Now, which of the two great regions of human character shall we make him to occupy ? This question depends on another. May all this manly elevation of soul, and of sentiment, stand disunited in the same heart, with the influence of the authority of God, or that love of God which is the keeping of the commandments ? The discerning eye of Hume saw that it could ; and he tells us, that natural honesty of temper is a better security for the faithfulness of a man's doings, than all the authority of religion over him. We deny the assertion ; but the distinction between the two principles on which it proceeds is indisputable. There is a principle of honour, apart in the human mind altogether from any reference to the realities of a spiritual world. It varies in the intensity of its operation, with different individuals. It has the chance of being more entire, when kept aloof from the temptations of poverty ; and therefore it is, *that we more frequently meet with it in the upper and middling classes of life.* And we can conceive it so strong in its original influence, or so grateful to the possessor, from the elevating consciousness which goes along with it, or so nourished by the voice of an applauding world, as to throw all the glories of a romantic chivalry over the character of him with whom God is as much unthought of, as he is unseen. We are far from refusing our admiration. But we are saying, that the Being who brought

this noble specimen of our nature into existence; who fitted his heart for all its high and generous emotions; who threw a theatre around him for the display and exercise of his fine moral accomplishments; who furnished each of his admirers with a heart to appreciate his worth, and a voice to pour into his ear the flattering expression of it; the Being whose hand upholds and perpetuates the whole of this illustrious exhibition, may all the while be forgotten, and unnoticed as a thing of no consequence. We are merely saying, that the man whose heart is occupied with a sentiment of honour, and is at the same time unoccupied with a sense of Him, who is the first and greatest of spiritual beings, is not a spiritual man. But, if not spiritual, we are told in the Bible, that there are only two terms in the alternative, and he must be carnal. And the God whom he has disregarded in time, will find, that in the praises and enjoyments of time, he has gotten all his reward, and that he owes him no recompense in Eternity.

Again ; "Now it carries us at once to the bottom of this delusion to observe, that though the religious principle can never exist, without the amiable and virtuous conduct of the New Testament, yet that conduct may, in some measure, be maintained, without the religious principle. A man may be led to precisely the same conduct, on the impulse of many different principles :— he may be gentle, because it is a prescription of the divine law ; or, he may be gentle, because he is naturally of a peaceful, or indolent constitution ; or, he may be gentle, because he sees it to be an amiable gracefulness, with which he wishes to adorn his own character ; or, he may be gentle, because it is the ready way of perpetuating

the friendship of those around him ; or, he may be gentle, because taught to observe it as a part of courtly and fashionable deportment, and *what was implanted by education*, may come in time to be confirmed, by habit and experience. Now, it is only under the first of these principles, that there is any religion in gentleness. The other principles may produce all the outward appearance of this virtue, and much even of its inward complacency, and yet be as distinct from the religious principle, as they are distinct from one another. To infer the strength of the religious principle, from the taste of the human mind, for what is graceful and lovely in character, would just be as preposterous, as to infer it from the admiration of a fine picture, or a cultivated landscape. They are not to be confounded. They occupy a different place, even in the classifications of philosophy. We do not deny, that the admiration of what is fine in character, is a principle of a higher order, than the admiration of what is fine in external scenery. So is a taste for what is beautiful, in the prospect before us, a principle of a higher order, than a taste for the sensualities of the epicure. But they, one and all of them, stand at a wide distance from the religious principle : and whether it be taste, or temper, or the love of popularity, or the high impulse of honourable feeling, or even the love of truth, and a natural principle of integrity ; the virtues in question may be so unconnected with religion, as to flourish in the world, and be rewarded by its admiration, even though God were expunged from the belief, and immortality from the prospects of the species."

In these extracts we have the opinions contained in the *Address* fully explained, and its doctrines carried

out and established. In the ampler illustrations and minuter developments furnished by these writers, the intelligent reader will, no doubt, take pleasure in tracing the intrinsic meaning and legitimate bearing of Washington's principles—by which *he* must have been conducted to similar conclusions, had it comported with the object before him to expatiate in the same field, over which it was then professional privilege and duty to range at large. The views maintained by him and them are manifestly the same. They all teach, substantially, that without religion there is no morality, through lack of motive to produce the result. Or if this effect may exist in a measure, in the case of some individuals sharing special propitious influences—such a life will be confined to a few favoured persons—whilst the mass of mankind, cut off from their advantages, the social state must be dissolved through the inevitable prevalence of crime. The special application of the doctrine to the interests of another life, which it belonged more particularly to some of the writers to enforce—is a fair use of the principle, and one which properly attaches to its due practical exhibition. The doctrine then, we say, was essentially the same as held by them all. In the views of the one, we had, as it were, the vital seed of immortal truth; in the writings of the others, we have the full-blown and variegated flower. In the one, we had the unwrought, massy bullion; in the others, we have the same beat out and fashioned variously for ornament and for use. Considering the different circumstances and aims of the writers, the correspondence in their productions will appear sufficiently remarkable, and indicating a common fountain as the source of opinions so

harmonious and consistent with each other. If it should be objected by any that the statements contained in the Address are brief and compressed, we may answer, that it was obviously fit, in such a document, that the author, feeling the responsibility of his peculiar position, should commend the subject of religion to his countrymen. But it was equally fit that *hints*, merely, should be thrown out. More than this, the spirit of the age would not bear. Religion was regarded with jealousy in connexion with politics. There was necessity, then, for caution, in preparing such a paper as the one before us. While fidelity demanded decision and explicitness on the one hand, prudence required moderation and generality of statement, on the other. There must be *truth* in the exposition, but truth in its least offensive form.

That Washington was under the influence of these considerations is manifest. Had it been fit that he should, on such an occasion, speak out more fully—that he should enlarge on the truth, the reality, and the efficacy of religion, and of morality, as its genuine fruit—would he have wanted words or thoughts? Did not a mind, teeming with clear and rational conceptions on these topics, prompt the ardent language used, when he says:—“*A VOLUME could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity.*”—It was not, then, the want of sympathy with the subject, or the lack of knowledge; but the nature of the document, and the proprieties of his station, which restrained his usually prolific pen.

Without regarding the question of Washington’s faith in the word of God, as needing any additional confirmation, we will yet quote one brief paragraph from his

last will and testament, as furnishing a touching proof of his sincerity :—

“ To the Rev. now *Bryan Lord Fairfax*,* I give a Bible, in three large folio volumes, with notes presented to me by the Right Rev. *Thomas Wilson*†, bishop of Sodor and Man.”

Gen. Washington wrote the will, from which the above was taken, but a few months before his death. Admonished, by the rapid approach of old age, to set his house in order, and prepare for another world, he makes, among other bequests, the very *significant* one before us, in favour of an old, valued, and highly respectable friend. He, doubtless, thought the legacy worthy of his acceptance.

We shall conclude the present chapter with the testimony of Chief Justice Marshall. He had been the personal friend, the frequent associate, and was now the biographer of Washington. With the best opportunities

* Mr. Fairfax was an Episcopal clergyman. During the latter years of his life, he became the eighth and last Lord Fairfax—the title having descended to him through Robert Fairfax, from Thomas Lord Fairfax, of Greenway Court, Frederick county, Virginia. His own residence was in Fairfax county.

† Was not Gen. Washington mistaken in ascribing this gift to the Right Rev. Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man? The bishop died in March, 1755, some months before Braddock’s defeat—anterior to which event, Washington did not enjoy much celebrity. Bishop Wilson could scarcely have known that such a person was in being. But the bishop left an only son—the Rev. Thomas Wilson, D.D., a man of wealth, and like his honoured father, distinguished for piety and active benevolence. He died, an old man, in the year 1784, when Washington’s fame had filled Europe. Attracted by the character of the American commander-in-chief, he was no doubt the author of the present. The Bible sent may have belonged to the bishop, his excellent father.

of learning his opinions, and observing his habits, he says:—

“Without making ostentatious professions of religion,* he (Washington) was a sincere believer in the Christian faith, and a truly devout man.”†

* What the precise import of this disclaimer is, touching “ostentatious professions of religion,” does not seem to be perfectly clear. If the allusion is to Washington’s reserve and taciturnity on this, as on other subjects, in the ordinary intercourse of life, then the remark is no doubt just. His nice sense of propriety always prevented him from obtruding his religious opinions upon his best friends, much more was he restrained by his knowledge of men from troubling those with the subject to whom he knew it to be strange or disagreeable. He would not thus “cast his pearls before swine:” But certainly no public man, in this, or in any other country, ever availed himself more uniformly of every fit occasion for declaring his sentiments. Seldom, it would appear, did he suffer an opportunity to escape him, without bearing his solemn testimony to the importance and necessity of religion. In this respect, he truly “let his light shine before men.”

† Life of Washington, vol. ii., p. 445, abridged edition.

CHAPTER III.

HIS VIEWS OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE.

THERE are few doctrines of religion about which men are more divided, than that of the Providence of God. They are indeed generally united as to the *fact* of a providence exercised over the world, but are very widely separated in opinion as to its nature. According to the system of some, there is a *general*, but not a *particular*, Providence, displayed in the affairs of men. The Deity is regarded as having originally impressed upon the machinery of the universe those great laws which he intended should govern it, and having done so, leaves it to roll on with a process so uniform and settled, that no departure from its great leading operations may ever be expected.

That this is a cold and comfortless speculation, must be admitted by all. But it is as irrational, as it is gloomy. It certainly is entirely at variance with the animating disclosures of Revelation. Indeed the whole theory is based upon a gratuitous assumption, unsupported, save by the fancy of its framers. For how is it known that the Author of all things has so settled and fixed the laws of his kingdom that the possibility of departure has been excluded. How do we know, in fact, what is uniformity, and what irregularity? That which we may call a

detour, in the march of his laws, may be only the result of a primeval impulse given them. It is impossible for us to know what principles the Almighty has thought proper to adopt for the government of his universe.* We talk of the order of Nature, and of the great principles which prevail therein, and of the straight-forward course, and the overwhelming energy of its powers ; and having settled it, in our minds, that such is the system adopted by the Creator, we forthwith apply this ideal standard to every thing *extraordinary* in the occurrences of earth. Thus a miracle, no matter how unexceptionable in regard to the *design* of its performance, or how well attested by credible witnesses—is at once cried down as a fraud upon the senses, because, forsooth, it is in opposition to a theory having for its basis our *experience* of the uniformity of Nature. It is, in the mean time, forgotten by the objector, that his experience is very limited, and that the experience of another man may be the very reverse of his. He rejects what is credibly reported to him as extraordinary, because he has never seen, or heard, or felt, any thing of the kind, yet is strangely offended because his informer believes what *he* has seen, heard, and felt. The same inconsistency marks the decision to which some men come, in regard to events, involving merely a digression, as it were, and not a suspension, of the laws of the universe. Every thing of this kind, in the course of events, is held to be strange

* "Now, general laws," (says the Edinburgh Review, No. 100,) "however, for the most part, *undiscovered* by us, govern alike the constitution of our nature, and the course of events," &c.—Even the general laws, then, which govern us are *undiscovered*.

and unaccountable, and rather to be ascribed to chance, or accident, than to any direct agency of God.

Whilst we, by no means, call in question the systematic action of Deity, in carrying on the affairs of his universal kingdom, yet we do object to a rigid adjustment of the principles of his system by the mere dictum of human authority. We do not doubt that there is a beautiful order in the Divine operations, and that they all tend, with infinite harmony, to some great and good result. And yet we are assured that the Almighty is as methodical, in deviating from his ordinary course, as he is in the most regular and uniform of his processes.

It is not, then, in disparagement of a *general*, that we contend for a *particular* Providence. The terms, in truth, should not be set in opposition to each other. The Providence of God is both general and particular. He acts by general laws in the government of his universe, physical and moral ; and yet can bend them, at any moment, to the production of any given result, as he may, in his sovereign pleasure, see fit ; whether at the beseeching voice of his humble and dependant creatures, or from other motives which may arise to sway his Divine agency. Nor is there, in all this, any want of foresight, or any thing like variableness, or mutability implied. It is Deity in motion, for the accomplishment of the greatest amount of good, in the way which seems best in his sight. " Many persons," says a judicious writer, " when they hear any event spoken of as providential, seem to understand it as signifying, that all the circumstances which have conduced to bring it about, have been arranged for that particular purpose, and if left to their natural course, they would have produced different results. But I consider this to be a com-

plete misapprehension. The doctrine of an over-ruling Providence does not imply the interruption of the regular operations of cause and effect in nature, any more than our seeing these operations proceed regularly, proves that there is no such thing as an over-ruling Providence." Here we have the sublimity of the general, with the comfort of the particular Providence of God. He now wheels the planets in their courses, and preserves the host of heaven, in unfading splendour, and yet guards the feeble sparrow, so that it cannot fall to the ground without Him. He preserves the seasons, in their unwearied rounds, causing summer and winter, night and day, seed-time and harvest, to follow each other in regular and constant successions—and yet he controls the elements at his pleasure. When he would punish, he "makes the heavens above, brass, and the earth beneath, iron." He "commands the clouds that they rain no rain." He "sends the palmer-worm, the caterpillar, and the locust." Sometimes he "causes it to rain upon one city, and not upon another—to rain upon one piece, and not upon another." Or, would he reward and bless, he then reverses these dispensations, and causes those who obey Him to rejoice in all "good things."

Such we conceive to be the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, on the subject before us, and, in accordance with these views, have been the sentiments of the majority of believers in Christianity.

That such were the views of the distinguished subject of our present work, admits of evidence as satisfactory as the reflection is gratifying. The abundant proof is furnished by his writings of every date. It was one of

the earliest and the latest of those convictions,' by which his life was materially governed.

It is proposed to draw from his writings, published* and unpublished, the proofs of his opinions. In these productions of his diligent pen, marked, as they are, by the frankness and sincerity which ever characterized him, we have his undissembled thoughts and feelings on this, as on other topics. If our quotations should be numerous, we hope they will prove interesting for the piety of the allusions, as well as for their historical associations.

In a letter to Gov. Dinwiddie, dated Great Meadows, June 10, 1754, when in the 23d year of his age, we have the following striking acknowledgment of a particular Providential interposition, in supplying, with provisions, the troops recently placed under his command.

"We have been six days without flour, and there is none upon the road for our relief that we know of, though I have, by repeated expresses, given him timely notice. We have not provisions of any sort enough in camp to serve us two days. Once before we should have been four days without provisions, if Providence had not sent a trader from the Ohio to our relief, for whose flour I was obliged to give twenty-one shillings and eight-pence per hundred."

In a letter to his brother, John A. Washington, written a few days after Braddock's defeat, he says, in reference to his own wonderful preservation on that memorable occasion :

"By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence I have been protected beyond all human probability, or

* We shall mainly rely upon his "Writings," as recently edited and published by J. Sparks.

expectation ; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, although death was levelling my companions on every side of me."

Was there not, indeed, in that marvellous preservation, a most signal proof given of the particular Providence of G^d? The battle-field that day, was indeed a field of blood. The French and Indians firing from ravines, and from behind trees, with a deliberate and deadly aim, produced an unparalleled carnage among the British and Provincial troops. These seemed to be engaged with an invisible foe. For three hours, however, did they maintain the unequal conflict, but in much confusion and dismay. "The officers," says one, in describing the action, "were absolutely sacrificed by their good behaviour, advancing sometimes in bodies, sometimes separately, hoping, by such example, to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose. The General (Braddock) had five horses shot under him, and at last received a wound through his right arm into his lungs, of which he died the 13th inst. Secretary Shirley was shot through the head ; Captain Morris, wounded. Colonel Washington had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving, the whole time, with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir Peter Halket was killed upon the spot. Colonel Burton, and Sir John St. Clair, were wounded."—"In addition to these," says another, "the other field-officers wounded were Lieutenant Colonel Gage, Colonel Orme, Major Sparks, and Brigade-Major Halket. Ten captains were killed, and five wounded ; fifteen lieutenants killed, and twenty-two wounded ; the whole number of officers in the en-

gagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. Of these, at least one half were supposed to be killed."*— Washington, but partially recovered from a severe sickness, was one of General Braddock's aids-de-camp. Early in the action, the other aids were killed or wounded, so that the whole duty of distributing the General's orders devolved on him. He was, consequently, exposed continually to the fire of the enemy. Dr. Craik, the friend of Washington from his youth, and who was with him in this battle, has been often heard to say, "I expected every moment to see him fall. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him." There is a tradition, resting on the authority of this same individual, which may deserve notice in this connexion. "In the year 1770, fifteen years after the battle of the Monongahela, just referred to, Dr. Craik and Washington travelled together on an expedition to the Western country, with a party of woodsmen, for the purpose of exploring wild lands. While near the junction of the Great Kenhawa and Ohio Rivers, a company of Indians came to them with an interpreter, at the head of whom was an aged and venerable chief. This person made known to them, by the interpreter, that hearing Colonel Washington was in that region, he had come a long way to visit him, adding that, during the battle of the Monongahela, he had singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his rifle at him many times, and directed his young warriors to do

* The whole number engaged were twelve hundred men, besides the officers.

the same, but, to his utter astonishment, none of their balls took effect. He was then persuaded, that the youthful hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and ceased to fire at him any longer. He was now come to pay homage to the man who was the particular favourite of heaven, and who could never die in battle."

Let the reader carefully mark the foregoing circumstances, and then say whether Washington had not good reason for the language:—"By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation."—If we, moreover, reflect on the distinguished and important part he afterwards acted in the cause of his country, and of humanity, we cannot, if we believe in a God at all, resist the conviction, that he was preserved by a special divine agency, being kept for that work which awaited him in the purposes of Heaven. This conviction will derive additional strength from the recollection, that he was equally protected during the Revolutionary War, though often and greatly exposed. As a chosen instrument of the Almighty, we may well apply to him the words, "Immortal till his work was done."

We proceed with his own language. From Winchester, where he was stationed as commander of the troops, he writes to Gov. Dinwiddie, about a year after Braddock's defeat:—

"With this small company of irregulars, with whom order, regularity, circumspection, and vigilance, were matters of derision and contempt, we set out, and by the protection of Providence, reached Augusta Court House in seven days, without meeting the enemy, otherwise we

must have fallen a sacrifice through the indiscretion of these whooping, hallooing, *gentlemen* soldiers!"

On the subject of an ill-managed expedition against Fort Pitt, in the year 1758, he says:—

"From all the accounts I can collect, it appears very clear, that this was a very ill concerted, or a very ill executed plan, perhaps both; but it seems to be generally acknowledged, that Major Grant exceeded his orders, and that no disposition was made for engaging. The troops were divided, which caused the front to give way, and put the whole into confusion, except the Virginians commanded by Captain Bullitt, who were, *in the hands of Providence*, a means of preventing all our people from sharing one common fate."

Writing to Gov. Trumbull, dated Cambridge, 18th July, 1775, he says:—

"Allow me to return you my sincere thanks, for the kind wishes and favourable sentiments, expressed in yours, of the 13th inst. As the cause of our common country calls us both to an active and dangerous duty, I trust that Divine Providence, which wisely orders the affairs of men, will enable us to discharge it with fidelity and success," &c.

About the same time he wrote to Lieutenant-General Gage, of the British army, in answer to a letter from him:

"May that God to whom you then appeal, judge between America and you. Under his providence, those who influenced the councils of America, and all the other inhabitants of the United Colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity those just and invaluable privileges, which they received from their ancestors."

He writes to some of his officers, in a circular, 8th September, 1775 :—

“It is to know, whether, in your judgment, we cannot make a successful attack upon the troops at Boston, by means of boats, in co-operation with an attempt upon their lines at Roxbury. The success of such an enterprise depends, I well know, upon the All-wise Disposer of events, and it is not within the reach of human wisdom to foretel the issue ; but if the prospect is fair, the undertaking is justifiable, for the following, among other reasons which might be assigned,” &c. &c.

INSTRUCTIONS sent by him, at this time, to Gen. Arnold, contain the following language :—

“You are immediately, on their march from Cambridge, to take the command of the detachment from the Continental army against Quebec, and use all possible expedition, as the winter season is now advancing ; and the success of this enterprise, *under God*, depends wholly upon the spirit with which it is pushed, and the favourable dispositions of the Canadians and Indians.”

In a letter to Joseph Reed, respecting his perplexities, he writes, under date of January, '76 :—

“Thus, for more than two months past, I have scarcely emerged from one difficulty before I have been plunged into another. *How it will end, God, in his great goodness, will direct. I am thankful for his protection to this time.* We are told that we shall soon get the army completed, but I have been told so many things which have never come to pass, that I distrust every thing.”

To Gen. Schuyler he writes, in the same month :—

“ I congratulate you upon the success of your expedition into Tyron county. I hope General Lee will execute a work of the same kind on Long Island. It is high time to begin with our internal foes, when we are threatened with such severity of chastisement from our kind parent without. That the Supreme Dispenser of every good may bestow health, strength, and spirit, on you and your army, is the fervent wish of, dear sir, your most affectionate and obedient servant.”

In a communication to Joseph Reed, the same month, he says :—

“ The men must be brought to face danger; they cannot always have an intrenchment, or a stone wall, as a safe-guard or shield; and it is of essential importance that the troops in Boston should be destroyed, if possible, before they can be reinforced or removed. This is clearly my opinion. Whether circumstances will admit of the trial, and, if tried, what will be the result, the All-wise Disposer of events alone can tell.”

To the Council of Massachusetts Bay he writes, February, '76 :—

“ In this state of the matter, and to avoid putting an affair of so much importance to a doubtful issue, when, under Providence, it may be reduced to a certainty, I submit it to the wisdom of your board, whether it may not be best to direct the militia of certain towns, most contiguous to Dorchester and Roxbury, to repair to the lines at those places, with their arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, instantly, upon a signal given.”

After the evacuation of Boston, by the British troops March 17th, '76, Washington received an Address from

the General Assembly of Massachusetts. In answer to this Address he has the following language:—

“That the metropolis of your colony is now relieved from the cruel and oppressive invasions of those who were sent to erect the standard of lawless domination, and to trample on the rights of humanity, and is again open and free for its rightful possessors, must give pleasure to every virtuous and sympathetic heart; and its being effected without the blood of our soldiers and fellow-citizens, must be ascribed to the interposition of that Providence which has manifestly appeared in our behalf through the whole of this important struggle, as well as to the measures pursued for bringing about the happy event.

“May that Being who is powerful to save, and in whose hands is the fate of nations, look down with an eye of tender pity and compassion upon the whole of the United Colonies; may he continue to smile upon their councils and arms, and crown them with success, whilst employed in the cause of virtue and mankind. May this distressed colony and its capital, and every part of this wide extended continent, through his divine favour, be restored to more than their former lustre and once happy state, and have peace, liberty, and safety, secured upon a solid, permanent, and lasting foundation.”

Whilst the above extracts show unqualified reliance on the Providence of God, the attentive reader will observe the absence of every thing resembling that fanatical trust which supersedes the use of means. The goodness of God is devoutly acknowledged, but every measure is adopted which may contribute to the end in

view. Washington never sought, in his views of Providence, an apology for neglect or indolence. He did not deserve the censure given to some in the following lines of a distinguished writer.*—"It is to be lamented, that this great doctrine of God's universal superintendance is not only madly denied, or inconsistently overlooked by one class of men, but is foolishly perverted, or fanatically abused by another. Without entering upon the wide field of instances, we shall confine our remarks to two that are the most common. First, the fanciful, frivolous, and bold familiarity with which this supreme dictation and government are cited on the most trivial occasions, and adduced in a manner dishonourable to infinite wisdom, and derogatory to supreme goodness. The persons who are guilty of this fault seem not to perceive, that it is not more foolish and presumptuous to deny it altogether than to expect that God's particular Providence will interpose, in order to save their exertions or excuse their industry. For though Providence directs and assists virtuous endeavours, He never, by superseding them, encourages idleness or justifies presumption.

The highly censurable use to which some others convert this Divine agency, is, when not only the pretence of trusting Providence is made the plea for the indolent desertion of their own duty, but an unwarrantable confidence in providential leadings is adopted to excuse their own imprudence. Great is the temerity, when Providence is virtually reproached for the ill success of our affairs, or pleaded as an apology for our own wilful-

* Hannah More.

ness, or as a vindication of our own absurdity in the failure of some foolish plan, or some irrational pursuit. We have no right to depend on a supernatural interposition to help us out of difficulties into which we have been thrown by our misconduct, or under distresses into which we have been plunged by our errors : God, though he knows the prayers which we may offer, and accepts the penitence which we feel, will not use his power to correct our ill-judged labours any otherwise, than by making us smart for their consequences."

In the justice of these reflections every sober-minded person will acquiesce, and will appreciate the favourable light they shed on the principles of Washington, in reference to their subject.

In a letter to his brother John A. Washington, dated Cambridge, March 31, 1776, he says,—

Upon their discovery of the works (on Dorchester Heights) next morning, great preparations were made for attacking them ; but not being ready before the afternoon, and the weather getting very tempestuous, much blood was saved and a very important blow to one side or the other, was prevented. That this most remarkable interposition of Providence is for some wise purpose, I have not a doubt. But as the principal design of the manœuvre was to draw the enemy to an engagement under disadvantages to them ; as a premeditated plan was laid for this purpose, and seemed to be succeeding to my utmost wish ; as no men seemed better disposed to make the appeal than ours did upon that occasion ; I can scarcely forbear lamenting the disappointment, unless the dispute is drawing to an accommodation, and the sword going to be sheathed."

In May he writes to the same :—

“ We expect a very bloody summer at New-York and Canada, as it is there, I presume, the grand efforts of the enemy will be aimed, and I am sorry to say that we are not, either in men or arms, prepared for it. However it is to be hoped, that if our cause is just, as I do most religiously believe it to be, the same Providence which has, in many instances, appeared for us, will still go on to afford its aid. Your convention is acting very wisely in removing the disaffected, and stores, from the counties of Princess Anne and Norfolk ; and are much to be commended for their attention to the manufacture of salt, saltpetre, and powder.”

In view of an expected attack from the combined forces of the enemy, the following order was issued, July 2d :

“ The time is now near at hand which must probably determine, whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves ; whether they are to have any property they can call their own ; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and they consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will probably deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, *under God*, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us no choice but a brave resistance or the most abject submission. This is all that we can expect. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or die. Our own country’s honour calls upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion, and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us rely upon the goodness of the cause, and the *aid of the Supreme Being*, in whose

hands victory is, to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions," &c.

To General Schuyler he writes, July, 76 :—

" From every appearance they mean to make a most vigorous push to subdue us this campaign ; and for that purpose to possess themselves of this colony, (N. Y.) if possible, as a step leading to it. Our utmost exertions must be used, and I trust, through the favour of Divine Providence, they will be disappointed in their views."

To the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania Association, he writes, 8th of August following :—

" The honour and safety of our bleeding country, and every other motive that can influence the brave and heroic patriot, call loudly upon us to acquit ourselves with resolution. In short, we must now determine to be enslaved or free. If we make freedom our choice, we must obtain it by the blessing of Heaven on our united and vigorous efforts.

" I salute you, gentlemen, most affectionately, and beg leave to remind you that liberty, honour, and safety, are all at stake ; and I trust Providence will smile upon our efforts, and establish us once more the inhabitants of a free and happy country."

In writing to General Armstrong, from Morristown, N. J. 4th July, 1777, he says :

" The evacuation of Jersey (by the British troops) at this time is a peculiar mark of Providence, as the inhabitants have an opportunity of securing their harvests of hay and grain, the latter of which would, in all probability, have undergone the same fate with many farm-houses, had it been ripe enough to take fire. The dis-

tress of many of the inhabitants, who were plundered not only of their effects, but of their provision of every kind, was such, that I sent down several wagon-loads of meat and flour to supply their present wants."

The reader will observe in this extract a striking proof of the writer's unqualified faith in the immediate and particular agency of the Almighty in the affairs of men. By this agency, a plundering army had been forced to leave the agricultural districts of the country at a period the most critical to the farmer. It was near the season of harvest when they evacuated the state, but the grain was in too green a state to be burnt. But for this the dependance for bread in that region would have been cut off. This interposition was indeed "a peculiar mark of Providence!" and the reverential notice of it a commendable instance of devout feeling.

To his brother, John A Washington, he writes in October, '77. His subject is the battle of Germantown.

"When my last to you was dated I know not; for truly I can say, that my whole time is so much engrossed, that I have scarcely a moment but sleeping ones, for relaxation, or to indulge myself in writing to a friend. The anxiety you have been under, on account of this army, I can easily conceive. Would to God there had been less cause for it; or that our situation at present was such as to promise much. The enemy crossed the Schuylkill, (which, by the by, above the Falls, is as easily crossed in any place as Potomac Run, Aquia, or any other broad, shallow water) rather by stratagem; though I do not know that it was in our power to prevent it, as their manœuvres made it necessary for us to attend

to our stores which lay at Reading, towards which they seemed bending their course, and the loss of which must have proved our ruin. After they had crossed, we took the first favourable opportunity of attacking them."

"This was attempted by a night's march of fourteen miles to surprise them, which we effectually did, so far as to reach their guards before they had notice of our coming; and if it had not been for a thick fog, which rendered it so dark at times that we were not able to distinguish friend from foe at the distance of thirty yards, we should, I believe, have made a decisive and glorious day of it. But Providence designed it otherwise; for after we had driven the enemy a mile or two; after they were in the utmost confusion, and flying before us in most places: after we were on the point, as it appeared to every body, of grasping a complete victory; our own troops took fright, and fled with precipitation and disorder. How to account for this I know not; unless, as I before observed, the fog represented their own friends to them for a reinforcement of the enemy, as we attacked in different quarters at the same time, and were about closing the wings of our army when this happened," &c.

After writing the above, or rather, concluding the letter, Gen. Washington received from Gov. Clinton a brief despatch, announcing the capitulation of Burgoyne's army, at Saratoga. This he enclosed to his brother, and in a postscript, added,—"I most devoutly congratulate my country, and every well-wisher to the cause, on this signal stroke of Providence."

The day after writing the above, he wrote to General Putnam.

"The defeat of General Burgoyne is a most important event, and such as must afford the highest satisfaction to every well-affected American. Should Providence be pleased to crown our arms in the course of the campaign, with one more fortunate stroke, I think we shall have no great cause for anxiety respecting the future designs of Britain. I trust all will be well in His good time."

The postscript of a letter to Landon Carter, of Sabine Hall, Richmond county, Virginia, is as follows:—

"I have this instant received an account of the prisoners taken by the northern army, (including tories in arms against us,) in the course of the campaign. This singular instance of Providence, and of our good fortune under it, exhibits a striking proof of the advantages which result from unanimity and a spirited conduct in the militia. The northern army, before the surrender of General Burgoyne, was reinforced by upwards of twelve hundred militia, who shut the only door by which Burgoyne could retreat, and cut off all his supplies. How different our case! The disaffection of a great part of the inhabitants of this State, the languor of others, and the internal distraction of the whole, have been among the great and insuperable difficulties which I have met with, and have contributed not a little to my embarrassments in this campaign. But enough; I do not mean to complain. I flatter myself, that a superintending Providence is ordering every thing for the best, and that, in due time, all will end well. That it may do so, and soon, is the most fervent wish of yours," &c.

In another letter, to the same, he writes:—

“VALLEY FORGE, May 30, 1778.

“My Dear Sir :--

“I thank you much for your kind and affectionate remembrance and mention of me, and for that solicitude for my welfare which breathes through the whole of your letters. Were I not warm in my acknowledgments for your distinguished regard, I should feel that sense of ingratitude which I hope will never constitute a part of my character, nor find a place in my bosom. My friends, therefore, may believe me sincere in my professions of attachment to them, whilst Providence has a just claim to my humble and grateful thanks for its protection and direction of me, through the many difficult and intricate scenes which this contest has produced; and for its constant interposition in our behalf, when the clouds were heaviest and seemed ready to burst upon us.

“To paint the distresses and perilous situation of this army, in the course of last winter, for want of clothes, provisions, and almost every other necessary essential to the well-being, I may say existence of an army, would require more time and an abler pen than mine; nor, since our prospects have so miraculously brightened, shall I attempt it, or even bear it in remembrance, further than as a memento of what is due to the great Author of all the care and good that have been extended in relieving us in difficulties and distress,” &c.

Concerning the battle of Monmouth, he wrote his brother John A. Washington, from Brunswick, 4th July, 1778.

General Lee, having the command of the van of the army, consisting of full five thousand chosen men, was

ordered to begin the attack next morning, (28th of June,) so soon as the enemy began their march ; to be supported by me ; but, strange to tell ! when he came up with the enemy, a retreat commenced ; whether by his order, or from other causes, is now the subject of inquiry, and, consequently, improper to be descanted upon, as he is in arrest, and a court-martial is sitting for his trial. A retreat, however, was the fact, be the causes what they may ; and the disorder arising from it would have proved fatal to the army, had not that bountiful Providence which has never failed us in the hour of distress, enabled me to form a regiment or two (of those that were retreating) in the face of the enemy and under their fire, by which means a stand was made long enough (the place through which the enemy were pursuing being narrow,) to form the troops that were advancing ,upon an advantageous piece of ground in the rear. Here our affairs took a favourable turn ; and, from being pursued, we drove the enemy back over the ground they had followed, and recovered the field of battle, and possessed ourselves of their dead. But as they retreated behind a morass very difficult to pass, and had both flanks secured with thick woods, it was found impracticable, with our men, fainting with fatigue, heat, and want of water, to do any thing more that night. In the morning we expected to renew the action ; when, behold ! the enemy had stolen off silently in the night, after having sent away their wounded," &c.

To General Nelson, of Virginia, he wrote, in August :

" It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful to contemplate, that after two years manœuvring and under-

going the strangest vicissitudes that ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from ; and that the offending party, at the beginning, is now reduced to the use of the spade and pickaxe for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations. But it will be time enough for me to turn preacher when my present appointment ceases ; and therefore I shall add no more on the doctrine of Providence ; but make a tender of my best respects to your good lady, the secretary, and other friends, and assure you that with the most perfect regard, I am, dear sir," &c.

Writing to Joseph Reed, in November, he says :

"It is most devoutly to be wished that faction was at an end, and that those to whom every thing dear and valuable is entrusted would lay aside party views and return to first principles. Happy, happy, thrice happy country, if such were the government of it ! But, alas ! we are not to expect that the path is to be strewed with flowers. That great and good Being who rules the universe, has disposed matters otherwise, and for wise purposes, I am persuaded."

To Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia.

"PHILADELPHIA, 30 December, 1778.

"Dear Sir,

"I have seen nothing since I came here,* on the 22d

* He was in Philadelphia, by request of Congress, for the purpose of a personal conference with them, touching the operations of the next campaign.

inst., to change my opinion of men or measures; but abundant reason to be convinced, that our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous and deplorable condition, than they have been since the commencement of the war.

* * * * *

“If I were to be called upon to draw a picture of the times, and of men, from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should, in one word, say, that idleness, dissipation, and extravagance, seem to have laid fast hold of most of them; that speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches, seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and almost of every order of men; that party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day; whilst the momentous concerns of an empire, a great and accumulating debt, ruined finances, depreciated money, and want of credit, which in its consequences is the want of every thing, are but secondary considerations, and postponed from day to day, from week to week, as if our affairs wore the most promising aspect.

* * * * *

“I again repeat to you, that this is not an exaggerated account. That it is an alarming one I do not deny; and I confess to you that I feel more real distress, on account of the present appearances of things, than I have done at any one time since the commencement of the dispute. But it is time to bid you adieu. Providence has heretofore taken us up when all other means and hopes seemed to be departing from us. In this I will confide. I am yours,” &c.

To Gen. Thos. Nelson, in Congress, dated March '79 :

“It gives me very singular pleasure to find, that

you have again taken a seat in Congress. I think there never was a time, when cool and dispassionate reasoning, strict attention and application, great integrity, and, if it was in the nature of things, unerring wisdom, were more to be wished for than at the present, Our affairs, according to my judgment, are now come to a crisis, and require no small degree of political skill to steer clear of those shallows and rocks, which, though deeply buried, may wreck our hopes, and throw us upon some inhospitable shore. Unanimity in our councils, disinterestedness in our pursuits, and steady perseverance in our national duty, are the only means to avoid misfortunes. If they come upon us after these, we shall have the consolation of knowing that we have done our best.

The rest is with God."

To Joseph Reed, President of Congress, he writes, in July, '79 :—

" Discouraging as this is, I feel more from the state of our currency, and the little attention which hitherto appears to have been paid to our finances, than from the smallness of our army ; and yet, Providence having so often taken us up when bereft of every other hope, I trust we shall not fail even in this. The present temper and disposition of the people to facilitate a loan, to discountenance speculation, and to raise the value of the money, are a happy presage of resulting good, and ought to be cherished by every possible means not repugnant to good order and goverment."

To William Gordon, from Newport, March, 1781 :—

" I came here on business, and as soon as that business is finished, I shall return to my dreary quarters at New Windsor. We have, as you very justly observe, abun-

dant reasons to thank Providence for its many favourable interpositions in our behalf. It has at times been my only dependance, for all other resources seemed to have failed us."

To General Armstrong, he writes, about the same time :—

"Our affairs are brought to a perilous crisis, that the hand of Providence, I trust, may be more conspicuous in our deliverance. The many remarkable interpositions of the Divine government, in the hours of our deepest distress and darkness, have been too luminous to suffer me to doubt the happy issue of the present contest; but the period for its accomplishment may be too far distant for a person of my years, who, in his morning and evening hours, and every moment unoccupied by business, pants for retirement, and for those domestic and rural enjoyments, which, in my estimation, far surpass the highest pageantry of this world."

To the President of Congress, November, 1781 :—

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 31st ultimo, covering the resolutions of Congress of the 29th, and a proclamation for a day of public prayer and thanksgiving; and have to thank you sir, most sincerely, for the very polite and affectionate manner in which those enclosures have been conveyed. The success of the combined arms against our enemies at York and Gloucester, as it affects the welfare and independence of the United States, I viewed as a most fortunate event. In performing my part towards its accomplishment, I consider myself to have done only my duty, and in the execution of that, I ever feel myself

happy ; and at the same time, as it augurs well to our cause, I take a particular pleasure in acknowledging, that the interposing hand of Heaven, in the various instances of our extensive preparations for this operation, have been most conspicuous and remarkable."

About the same time he addressed to a committee of gentlemen, inhabitants of Alexandria, the following, among other remarks, in answer to an address from them :—

"The great Director of events has carried us through a variety of scenes during this long and bloody contest in which we have been for seven campaigns, most nobly struggling. The present prospect is pleasing. The late success at Yorktown is very promising, but on our own improvement of it depend its future good consequences. A vigorous prosecution of this success, will, in all probability, procure us what we have so long wished to secure, an establishment of peace, liberty, and independence. A relaxation of our exertions, at this moment, may cost us many more toilsome campaigns, and be attended with the most unhappy consequences."

In a "Circular to the States," dated Philadelphia, 31 January, 1782, occur the following sentiments :—

"Although we cannot, by the best concerted plans, absolutely command success ; although the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong ; yet, without presumptuously waiting for miracles to be wrought in our favour, it is our indispensable duty, with the deepest gratitude to Heaven for the past, and humble confidence in its smiles on our future operations, to make use of all the means in our power for our defence and security."

We have here again a fair specimen of Washington's views of the doctrine of Providence. With an unhesitating belief and trust in the divine agency, he did not vainly expect that Infinite Wisdom would sanction by that agency so pernicious a result as human apathy. He regarded the aids of Providence as designed to reward, and not discourage industry. Therefore, while he humbly confided in the help of God, he diligently fulfilled the duties of his station, not contented to commence a work, but seeking ever to complete it also, esteeming nothing done to good purpose, while any thing remained undone.

Addressing sundry individuals and bodies of men, at the close of the war, he has the following language :—

"I anticipate with pleasure the day, and that, I trust, not far off, when I shall quit the busy scenes of a military employment, and retire to the more tranquil walks of domestic life. In that, or in whatever other situation Providence may dispose my future days, the remembrance of the many friendships and connexions I have had the happiness to contract with the gentlemen of the army, will be one of my most grateful reflections. Under this contemplation, and impressed with the sentiments of benevolence and regard, I commend you, my dear sir, my other friends, and with them the interests, and happiness of our dear country, to the keeping and protection of Almighty God."

Again, he says ; " Notwithstanding Congress seem to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States. yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens, and the

patience and bravery of our troops, which have produced so happy a termination of the war, as the most conspicuous effects of the Divine interposition, and the surest presage of our future happiness."

In his farewell address to the armies of the United States, he says :—

"A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected,) of the object for which we contended, against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances, on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving ; while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

* * * * *

"And being now to conclude these his last public orders ; to take his ultimate leave in a short time of the military character ; and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command ; he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those, who, under the Divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others. With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon

be drawn, and the military scene to him will be closed forever."

Address to Congress, on resigning his commission.

" ANNAPOLIS, December 23, 1783.

" Mr. President,

" The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

" Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence ; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

" The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations ; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

* * * * *

" I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country, to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

We have before us the views of Washington in reference to the doctrine of Providence, as habitually expressed by him on all proper occasions, from early life to the close of the Revolutionary War. It only remains that a few additional instances be cited, of his devout recognition of this truth, during subsequent periods of his active and useful life. As his piety shed splendour on his brilliant military course, so did it impart dignity and ornament to his distinguished civil career.

At his Inauguration as President of the United States, April 30th, 1789, he expressed, among other appropriate sentiments, the following:—

* * * * *

"Such being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the public summons, repaired to the present station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe—who presides in the councils of nations—and whose providential aids can supply every human defect—that his benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes; and may enable every instrument employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great Author of every public

and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own ; nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men, more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished, in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings, which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

* * * * *

“Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been awakened by the occasion which brings us together, I shall take my present leave; but not without resorting once more to the benign Parent of the human race, in humble supplication, that since he has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity, on a form of government for the securing of their union, and the

advancement of their happiness ; so His Divine blessing may be equally *conspicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend."

We pass to the next and last instance of this devout feeling in the Father of his country, which we shall cite from public documents. In October succeeding his inauguration, the following Proclamation was issued by him :

" Whereas, it is the duty of all nations to acknowledge the Providence of Almighty God, to obey his will, to be grateful for his benefits, and humbly to implore his protection and favour : And, whereas, both houses of Congress have, by their joint committee, requested me 'to recommend to the people of the United States a day of public Thanksgiving and Prayer, to be observed by acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the many and signal favours of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness.' "

" Now, therefore, I do recommend and assign Thursday, the twenty-sixth day of November, to be devoted by the people of these states, to the service of that great and glorious Being, who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or will be ; that we may then all unite in rendering unto him our sincere and humble thanks, for his kind care and protection of the people of this country, previous to their becoming a nation ;—for the signal and manifold mercies, and the favourable interpositions of his providence, in the course and conclusion of the late war ;—for the great degree of tranquillity, union, and plenty, which we have since enjoyed ;—for

the peaceable and national manner in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national one, now lately instituted ;—for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have for acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge ;—and, in general, for all the great and various favours, which he hath been pleased to confer upon us.

“*And, also,* That we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of nations ; and beseech him to pardon our national and other transgressions :—to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually ;—to render our national government a blessing to all the people, by constantly being a government of wise, just, and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed ;—to protect and guide all sovereigns and nations, (especially such as have shown kindness unto us) and to bless them with good government, peace, and concord ;—to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion, and virtue, and the increase of science among them and us ;—and, generally, to grant unto all mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as he alone knows to be best.

‘ Given under my hand, at the city of New-York, the third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

“G. WASHINGTON.”

The writer has in his possession some of the private letters of Gen. Washington, which have never seen the

light, in whole or in part. Of these, he shall avail himself on the topic under consideration, as on others, which may receive elucidation from them in the course of this work. The following brief quotations are here made, as showing the agreement between his public and private communications. The letters were written to a near relative, engaged as his land agent, in Virginia. To him he writes, in October, 1791 :—

“ From long experience I have laid it down as an unerring maxim, that to exact rents with punctuality is not only the *right* of the landlord, but that it is also for the benefit of the tenant that it should be so ; unless, by uncontrollable events, and *providential strokes*, the latter is rendered unable to pay them : in such cases, he should not only meet with indulgence, but, in some instances, with a remittal of the rent. But in the ordinary course of these transactions, the rents ought to be collected with the most rigid exactness, especially from *my* tenants, who do not, for most of the farms, pay a fourth of what the tenements would let for if they were now in my possession. If it is found difficult for a tenant to pay *one* rent, it is more difficult for him to pay *two* : when *three* are due he despairs or cares little about them ; and, if it runs to a greater number, it is highly probable to avoid paying any, he leaves you the bag to hold. For these reasons, *except under the circumstances before mentioned*, it is my desire that you will give all the tenants timely notice, that you will give no indulgences beyond those allowed by the covenants in the leases. If they find you *strict*, they will be *punctual* ; if otherwise, *your* trouble will be quadrupled, and I can have no

dependance upon my rents, which are now my principal support."

In a letter to the same, written from Philadelphia, on the 22d of February, 1795, he says :

"If the tenants are not punctual in the discharge of their rents, when they become due, distrain for them without delay or hesitation ; unless their disability to pay, proceeds *from some providential interposition*, or from some other obvious cause which entitles them to indulgence; for it may be depended upon, if the failure proceeds from idleness, the man who is unable to pay one rent will never pay two willingly ; and, generally, when it goes beyond that, the score is wiped out."

He wrote to the same in August, 1799 :—

"Of the facts related in the enclosed letter, relative to the loss of his crop by the Hessian fly, I know nothing. If it should appear to you evident, that K—— has used his true endeavour to raise the means to discharge his rent, and is deprived thereof by an act of *Providence*, I am willing, however illy I can afford to do it, to make some reasonable abatement thereof, of which you, from inquiry, will be the best judge."

With these ample evidences of Washington's sincere belief in the Providence of God, and entire confidence in the wisdom and goodness of the same, whether manifested in the fulfilment or frustration of his private wishes, whether in favour or in opposition to his personal interests,—we pass on to the next subject of inquiry claiming our consideration.

CHAPTER IV.

HIS DEVOTIONAL HABITS.

THE claims of the Almighty, on the homage of his intelligent creatures, are confessed by mankind with a harmony of assent, that is accorded by them to few other principles of religion. His greatness and his glory are too manifest to admit of disagreement on this point. While it is freely owned, however, that He ought to be worshipped as the greatest and best of Beings, it is not so often, or so cordially admitted, that the sacrifice of prayer is an equally appropriate offering. The spirit of unbelief, and of secret aversion to a service demanding a profound humility and deep prostration of soul, causes some to reject its obligations and controvert its propriety, and that on the ground of God's infinite wisdom and overflowing benevolence. In these, they say, we may confidently trust for the supply of all our necessities. The urgency of prayer, therefore, is at once unnecessary and presumptuous, implying distrust of the divine goodness, and a disposition to prescribe to Him whose knowledge is perfect, and love unbounded.

In opinions so vain we have, indeed, an extreme of folly rarely witnessed. A settled aversion to the duty of prayer, whether in public or private, and the habitual

neglect thereof, unaccompanied by excuse or extenuation, are much more frequent than the positive denial of the obligation. Perhaps there is no one habit connected with religion which finds in the human heart a more thorough distaste, or one which mankind more entirely refuse. It is not, indeed, unusual for persons of certain dispositions, and placed in particular circumstances, to fall in with the customs of society in regard to the public worship of God. Acquiescing in the manifest propriety of so decent a practice, they go to the House of God, and unite ostensibly in those becoming acts of adoration and supplication, which mark the services of the Sanctuary. But all this time there is no relish for the duty of prayer. The closet never witnesses their bended knee, their uplifted eye, or beseeching voice. The secret chamber, where God has especially promised to meet and bless his faithful people, possesses no charms for them. If they do, at certain times, under certain circumstances, when oppressed, it may be, by calamity,—bow the knee in private, it is by no means a uniform or continuing practice, but varying ever with the fluctuations of condition, feeling, or occupation.

What, then, were the habits of Washington in relation to this important Christian duty? The question is one of much moment, in reference to the sincerity of his religious principles and professions. And in proportion to the importance of the inquiry do the means happily abound of prosecuting the same to a satisfactory issue.

His uniform practice from youth to hoary age, furnished, it would seem, a consistent exemplification of this duty in its double aspect of public and private prayer. To

these we propose to direct the attention of our readers in their order.

It was mentioned, in a former chapter, that Washington spent his early years in parts of the country well furnished with houses of worship. He was then, however, in his minority, and we wish now to speak of a riper and more responsible age. The first decisive indication of his principles on this subject, with which we are acquainted, appeared during the encampment at the Great Meadows, in the year 1754. While occupying Fort Necessity, it was his practice to have the troops assembled for public worship. This we learn from the following note, by the publisher of his writings. "While Washington was encamped at the Great Meadows, Mr. Fairfax wrote to him; 'I will not doubt your having public prayers in the camp, especially when the Indian families are your guests, that they, seeing your plain manner of worship, may have their curiosity excited to be informed why we do not use the ceremonies of the French, which being well explained to their understandings, will more and more dispose them to receive our baptism, and unite in strict bonds of cordial friendship.'"

"It may be added, that it was Washington's custom to have prayers in the camp while he was at Fort Necessity."

Here we are informed, not only of the pious custom of the youthful commander, at the time and place mentioned, but are enabled to gather from the communication of Mr. Fairfax, much that was highly favourable to the character of his young friend. Mr. Fairfax says, "I will not doubt your having public prayers in the camp." Intimate as this gentleman was with Washington, he

would scarcely have so addressed him had he not felt encouraged to do so by his known sentiments of piety, if not his known habits. Mr. Fairfax was the father-in-law of Lawrence Washington, the brother of George, and had possessed every opportunity of learning the character and conduct of the latter. Assured of his pious and serious deportment, he did not feel any hesitation in suggesting to him the expediency of the duty in question.

That it was customary with him to frequent the House of God when in his power, appears from the record made by him of an occurrence amongst his soldiers, while encamped in Alexandria, in the summer of 1754, having himself returned but lately on a recruiting expedition from the Great Meadows. "Yesterday, while *we were at church*, twenty-five of them collected, and were going off in the face of their officers, but were stopped and imprisoned before the plot came to its height."

The next year he attended the fortunes of General Braddock, as a volunteer aid-de-camp. The general being mortally wounded at the battle of the Monongahela died on the third night. He was buried in his cloak the same night in the road, to elude the search of the Indians. Washington, on the testimony of an old soldier, *read the funeral service* over his remains, by the light of a torch. Faithful to his commander while he lived, he would not suffer him to want the customary rites of religion when dead.* Though the probable pursuit of savages threatened, yet did his humanity and

* It was very common in that day, and long afterwards, with gentlemen in Virginia, to perform such offices for a departed friend in the absence of a clergyman.

sense of decency prevail, to gain for the fallen soldier the honour of Christian sepulture.

After this period, he was engaged in the French and Indian war for some years. Of his habits, during the vicissitudes of that trying contest, one of his aids, Colonel B. Temple, of King William county, Virginia, has been often heard to say, that, "frequently on the Sabbath, he has known Colonel Washington to perform divine service with his regiment, reading the scriptures and praying with them, when no chaplain could be had."—For a considerable part of the time during that border war, his regiment was without a chaplain, of which he often complained in his communications with the governuor. In all these he manifested his high sense of the propriety and importance of public worship. In a subsequent letter to the President of the Council, he says:—

"The last Assembly, in their Supply Bill, provided for a chaplain to our regiment. On this subject I had often, without any success, applied to Governour Dinwiddie. I now flatter myself that your Honour will be pleased to appoint a sober, serious man, for this duty. Common decency, sir, in a camp, calls for the services of a divine which ought not to be dispensed with, although the world should be so uncharitable as to think us void of religion and incapable of good instructions."

The following extracts, from a Diary kept by him in the year 1760—two years after the French and Indian war, and the year after his marriage—will show his practice at that period. Mount Vernon, as is known, was now his residence.

"January 4th.—The weather continued drizzling and

warm, and I kept the house all day. Mrs. Washington seeming to be very ill, (with the measles,) I wrote to Mr. Green this afternoon, desiring his company to visit her in the morning.

“ 5th.—Mrs. Washington appeared to be something better. Mr. Green, however, came to see her about 11 o’clock, and in an hour Mrs. Fairfax arrived. Mr. Green prescribed, and just as we were going to dinner, Captain Walter Stuart appeared, with Dr. Laurie ; the evening being very cold, and the wind high, Mrs. Fairfax went home in the chariot.

“ 6th.—The chariot not returning time enough from Colonel Fairfax’s, *we were prevented from going to church.* Mrs. Washington is a good deal better to-day.”

It would appear then, that even Mrs. Washington’s indisposition and confinement at home, would not have been regarded as a sufficient excuse for neglecting the public worship of God, had not the unexpected delay of the chariot interfered with the performance of that duty—it being perhaps too late, after its arrival, to prepare. How many avail themselves of less valid excuses for neglecting the public duties of the Sabbath.

“ May 4th.—Warm and fine, set out for Frederick, to see my negroes that lay ill of the small-pox. *Took church* in my way to Coleman’s, where I arrived about sun-setting.”

Some time subsequent to this period, the old parish church being in a state of decay, the present one, called Pohick Church, was erected on a new site. The circumstances attending this event having some connexion

with our subject, shall be referred to, as handed down by tradition.

The dilapidation of the old church rendering it expedient either to repair or rebuild, the subject was agitated in the vestry, of which Colonel Washington was a member. It having been determined, after due consideration, that a new church should be built, the question of location next presented itself. Colonel ——, a prominent member of the vestry, was in favour of the old situation in the neighbourhood of which he had his residence. Others maintained that the site was not sufficiently central. Colonel —— supposed the place, if not perfectly central, yet not seriously inconvenient of access to any; and especially thought that the sacred associations which belonged to it, as the place of worship for several generations, and as hallowed by the sepulchres of their fathers, should induce a preference for the spot. Colonel Washington differed with Colonel ——, "objecting to the distance and the inconvenience to which his plan would subject the parishioners. He, moreover, could not see the force of the consideration derived from the contiguity of the grave-yard. He thought churches were erected for the living, and not for the dead. Nor was it necessary that any desecration of the place should occur. The ashes of the dead could be preserved inviolably secure by a proper enclosure." The vestry, however, adjourned, without coming to any settled conclusion, another meeting being appointed with a view to a final decision.

In the mean time Colonel Washington occupied himself in surveying the parish, ascertaining its limits, and the relative position of the old church. Having

done this, and prepared a draught of the survey with his usual accuracy and neatness, he awaited the meeting of the vestry. On that occasion, Colonel —— again urged, and with increased vehemence, the claims of the old situation. Having done so, Colonel Washington repeated his former objections, and having dwelt upon the remoteness of the place, took from his pocket the plan which he had prepared, in which the old church was found to be in an extreme corner of the parish. This ocular demonstration soon settled the matter, and brought about a decision against the old and in favour of the new location, which would bring the church in the centre of the parish.

Here it was at the new or Pohick Church, that Washington habitually attended, from the period of its erection, till the commencement of the Revolutionary War. Here he offered his adorations to the God and Father of all, and here received the symbols of a Saviour's love at the hands of the consecrated servant of the altar.*

The Rev. Lee Massey was the rector of the parish at the time here referred to. He was a highly respectable man, and shared much of the esteem of Washington. In regard to the religious deportment of his distinguished friend, especially in the House of God, he has often been heard to express himself in the following strain: "I never knew so constant an attendant on church as Washington. And his behaviour in the House of God, was ever so deeply reverential, that it produced the happiest effects on my congregation; and greatly assist-

* The writer is aware that in the view of many, some obscurity hangs over this habit of Washington's life. The reader may see the subject considered in the Appendix, note A.

ed me in my pulpit labours. No company ever withheld him from church. I have often been at Mount Vernon, on the Sabbath morning, when his breakfast table was filled with guests; but to him they furnished no pretext for neglecting his God, and losing the satisfaction of setting a good example. For instead of staying at home, out of false complaisance to them, he used constantly to invite them to accompany him."

In the year 1774, Washington went to Williamsburg as a member of the house of burgesses. The horizon of our country was then becoming dark with clouds, portending the approach of war. In the month of May, a short time after the members had assembled, information was received of an act of parliament for shutting up the port of Boston—to take effect on the 1st of June. The members being much excited by this hostile proceeding on the part of the British government, when they met on the 24th of May, passed an order that the 1st day of June "should be set apart by that house as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of civil war, and to give them one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights."

June the 1st being the day appointed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, the following brief entry is found in a diary kept by Washington at that time:—

"June 1st, Wednesday.—Went to church, and fasted all day."

Will the reader mark especially the latter clause of this note. He went to church in conformity with the

order passed by the house of burgesses. But not only so—he did that also which, perhaps, was not known to any mortal ; which was known only to God,—*he fasted all day*. Who is not struck with the sincerity and piety of this conduct ? Who that was acting merely from a regard to outward appearances, would thus have denied himself throughout the whole day. He bowed himself, no doubt, with profound adoration in the House of God ; but who shall say with what earnestness and importunity of prayer he approached the throne of mercy in the retirement and secrecy of his chamber—deprecating the horrors of that storm which was, to his practised ear, then muttering hoarsely in the distance ; and imploring those blessings on his country, of which he little thought that he himself should prove so illustrious an instrument. But God was training his servant for the mighty work which awaited him, and was mingling in his soul those high elements of faith, fortitude, and self-denial, essential to real greatness and true virtue in man.

In September of this year, he left home for Philadelphia as a member from Virginia, of the first congress about to meet in that city. The following entries made in his diary, show him still mindful of the Sabbath day, and of the duty of public worship. Being a stranger in the city, and lodging at a public house, there may not have been the regularity of attendance which usually distinguished him.

“ September 25th.—Went to the Quaker meeting in the forenoon, and to St. Peter’s in the afternoon ; dined at my lodgings.

"October 2d.—Went to Christ church, and dined at the new tavern.

"9th.—Went to the Presbyterian meeting in the forenoon, and the Romish church in the afternoon; dined at Bevan's.

"16th.—Went to Christ church in the morning; after which rode to and dined at the Province Island; supped at Byrns's."

The congress being dissolved on the 26th of October, Washington returned to Mount Vernon. He was again a member of the second congress, which met in Philadelphia the following year. By this congress he was chosen, as is known, commander-in-chief of the American army; resistance to Britain having been firmly resolved upon. And through that protracted and eventful contest which followed this purpose, in what spirit did the commander-in-chief act in reference to the sacred duty under consideration? Was he still the same? Was he still consistent? In the confusion and bustle of a camp, was he still collected and mindful of the claims of Him "who rules in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth?"

The day after he took command of the army an order was issued, in which we find the following injunction:

"The General requires and expects of all officers and soldiers, not engaged on actual duty, a punctual attendance on divine service, to implore the blessings of heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence."

A few days after this order was published, the Rev. William Emerson, a chaplain in the army, writes to a friend:

"There is great overturning in the camp as to order and regularity. New lords, new laws. The Generals Washington and Lee are upon the lines every day. New orders from his Excellency are read to the respective regiments every morning, *after prayers*," &c.

The subjoined extracts, from orders issued from time to time, will serve to witness the great care of the commander to encourage this duty :

From the Orderly Book, May 15th, 1776 :—The continental congress have ordered Friday, the 17th instant, to be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, humbly to supplicate the mercy of Almighty God, that it would please him to pardon our manifold sins and transgressions, and to prosper the arms of the United Colonies, and finally establish the peace and freedom of America upon a solid and lasting foundation ; the General commands all officers and soldiers to pay strict obedience to the orders of the continental congress ; that, by their unfeigned and pious observance of their religious duties, they may incline the Lord and Giver of victory to prosper our arms."

From the Orderly Book, August 3d.—"That the troops may have an opportunity of attending public worship, as well as to take some rest after the great fatigue they have gone through, the General, in future, excuses them from fatigue duty on Sunday, except at the shipyards, or on special occasions, till further orders."

In a Circular from the Commander-in-chief to the brigadier generals, dated the 26th of May, 1777, are the following instructions :—"Let vice and immorality, of every kind, be discouraged as much as possible in your

brigade ; and as a chaplain is allowed to each regiment, see that the men regularly attend divine worship."

From the Orderly Book, October 7th.—“The situation of the army frequently not admitting of the regular performance of divine service, on Sundays, the chaplains of the army are forthwith to meet together, and agree on some method of performing it *at other times*, which method they will make known to the Commander-in-chief.”

From the Orderly Book, Dec. 17th, 1777, near Valley Forge. “To-morrow being the day set apart by the honourable Congress for public thanksgiving and praise, and duty calling us devoutly to express our grateful acknowledgments to God for the manifold blessings he has granted us, the General directs that the army remain in its present quarters, and that the chaplains perform divine service with their several corps and brigades ; and earnestly exhorts all officers and soldiers, whose absence is not indispensably necessary to attend with reverence the solemnities of the day.”

The interruptions which sometimes occurred, preventing divine service being performed in camp, did not interfere with attention to the duty on the part of the Commander-in-chief. For one of his Secretaries, Judge Harrison, has often been heard to say, that “whenever the General could be spared from camp, on the Sabbath, he never failed riding out to some neighbouring church, to join those who were publicly worshipping the Great Creator.” This was done by him, we presume, when there was no public worship in camp.

On the day succeeding the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, an event which virtually closed the war, the Gene-

ral Order issued by Washington, concluded in the following words:—"Divine service shall be performed tomorrow in the different brigades and divisions. The Commander-in-chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty, assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence, in our favour, claims."

That our illustrious countryman continued to cherish the same high reverence for the sacred institutions of religion to the end of his life, is sustained by ample evidence. After the close of the war, and his return to Mount Vernon, in December, 1783, his place of worship was in Alexandria. It is probable that Pohick Church had been closed during the commotions induced by the revolution. At least, it is known that he had a pew in Christ church, Alexandria, and habitually attended divine service there. The following interesting document will evince that fact, and furnish very striking proof of his unfeigned desire for the respectable support of the Christian ministry, and perpetual maintenance of religious institutions and services. The design of the paper was, as the reader will observe, to subject the pews of the church to an annual rent, by a voluntary subscription thereto on the part of the pewholders. Its language is:—

"We, the subscribers, do hereby agree that the pews we now hold in the Episcopal church at Alexandria, shall be forever charged with an annual rent of five pounds, Virginia money, each; and we hereby promise to pay, (each for himself separately promising to pay,) annually, forever, to the minister and vestry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Fairfax parish; or, if the

parish should be divided, to the minister and vestry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Alexandria, the said sum of five pounds for each pew, for the purpose of supporting the ministry in the said church : Provided, nevertheless, that if any law of this commonwealth should hereafter compel us, our heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, to pay to the support of religion, the pew rent, hereby granted, shall, in that case, be considered as part of what we may by such law be required to pay : Provided, also, that each of us pay only in proportion to the part we hold of the said pews. For the performance of which payment, well and truly to be made, forever, annually, within six months after demanded, we hereby bind ourselves, (each for himself separately,) our heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, firmly by these presents. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this 25th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1785."

The above is an attested copy of the original, now on record in the vestry book of Christ church, Alexandria. The article was signed by a number of the pew-holders, the name of "G. WASHINGTON" being at the head of the list, in his own hand-writing, with the seal attached.

Cordially concurring, as he did, in this reasonable mode of raising a permanent revenue for the church, by uniting in a voluntary subjection of his pew to a perpetual ground rent, the father of his country evinced that high sense of justice and propriety, together with that spirit of noble liberality for which he was ever distinguished. He was not disposed, in the absence of a legal provision for the support of religion, to hold the man-

who was devoting his time and talents to the good of a congregation, subject to the whims and caprices of the same, for the amount and punctual payment of his income. Whilst the clergyman willingly engaged to render certain services in behalf of others, Washington thought that they should be willing, on their parts, to bind themselves to render him a due compensation for his labours. Nor was this course less prudential than generous; for what would a pew be worth if the pulpit should be unsupplied? The value of the pew, whether occupied by the owner or transferred to another, would certainly depend on the regularity and efficacy with which the clerical duties were performed. A cunning man might be disposed to take another view of the matter, and adopt a different course, refusing to bind himself, with the vain idea of reserving his liberty of action, and perhaps of escaping the obligation altogether if it should prove necessary. But a man so magnanimous, and at the same time practically wise as Washington was, could never act in any other way than as he did. The laws of his character forbid his doing otherwise.

In May 1787, the delegates of the several States assembled in Philadelphia, with a view to the formation of a constitution for the better government of the Union. Of this illustrious body, Washington was unanimously chosen President. During the session the following occurrences took place. The account thereof, in its present authentic form, was written in the year 1825, by an intimate friend of the youngest member of the convention. The part here given is that relating to the reconsideration of the provision which had been made in the beginning, for the representation of the

States in the Senate. It had been determined, that representation should be according to population. To this principle the representatives from the four smaller states objected. They moved a reconsideration, and expressed their purpose of withdrawing from the convention, unless the constitution was so modified, as to give each state an equal representation.

"There was much warmth," says the writer referred to, and some acrimonious feeling exhibited by a number of the speakers; a rupture appeared almost inevitable, and the bosom of Washington seemed to labour with the most anxious solicitude for its issue. Happily for the United States, the convention contained some individuals possessed of talents and virtues of the highest order, whose hearts were deeply interested in the establishment of a new and efficient form of government, and whose penetrating minds had already deplored the evils which would spring up in our newly-established Republic, should the present attempt to consolidate it prove abortive. Among those personages, the most prominent was Dr. Franklin. He was esteemed the mentor of our body. To a mind naturally strong and capacious, enriched by much reading, and the experience of many years, he added a manner of communicating his thoughts peculiarly his own, in which simplicity, beauty, and strength, were equally conspicuous. As soon as the angry orators who had preceded him had left him an opening, the Doctor rose, evidently impressed with the weight of the subject before them, and the difficulty of managing it successfully."

In a speech, as given by the writer, the Doctor urged the consideration of the great interests involved

in the issue of their deliberations, and proposed a recess of three days, for cool reflection and impartial conversations among the members respecting their conflicting views and opinions, that they might return to the discussion of the subject before them with more tranquil and amicable feelings. He then concluded in the following words :—

“ Before I sit down, Mr. President, I will suggest another matter ; and I am really surprised that it has not been proposed by some other member at an earlier period of our deliberations. I will suggest, Mr. President, the propriety of nominating and appointing, before we separate, a chaplain to this convention, whose duty it shall be uniformly to assemble with us, and introduce the business of each day by an address to the Creator of the universe, and the Governour of all nations, beseeching Him to preside in our council, enlighten our minds with a portion of heavenly wisdom, influence our hearts with a love of truth and justice, and crown our labours with complete and abundant success.”

“ The Doctor sat down ; and never did I behold a countenance at once so dignified and delighted, as was that of Washington at the close of this address ; nor were the members of the convention, generally, less affected. The words of the venerable Franklin fell upon our ears with a weight and authority, even greater than we may suppose an oracle to have had in a Roman senate ! A silent admiration superseded for a moment the expression of that assent and approbation which was strongly marked on almost every countenance ; I say almost—for one man was found in the convention, Mr. —, of —, who rose and said, with regard to the first

motion of the honourable gentleman, for an adjournment, he would yield his assent; but he protested against the second motion for the appointment of a chaplain. He then commenced a high-strained eulogium on the assemblage of wisdom, talent, and experience which the convention embraced; declared the high sense he entertained of the honour which his constituents conferred upon him in making him a member of that respectable body; said he was confidently of opinion that they were competent to transact the business which had been entrusted to their care; that they were equal to every exigence which might occur; and concluded by saying, that, therefore, he had not seen the necessity of foreign aid!

"Washington fixed his eye upon the speaker with a mixture of *surprise* and *indignation*, while he uttered this impertinent and impious speech!—and then looked around to see in what manner it affected others. They did not leave him a moment to *doubt*—no one deigned to *reply*, or take the smallest notice of the speaker,—but the motion for appointing a chaplain was instantly seconded and carried; whether under the silent disapprobation of Mr.—, or his solitary negative, I do not recollect. The motion for an adjournment was then put, and carried unanimously; and the convention adjourned accordingly.

"The three days of recess were spent in the manner advised by Dr. Franklin; the opposite parties mixed with each other, and a free and frank interchange of sentiments took place. On the fourth day we assembled again; and if great additional *light* had not been thrown on the subject, every *unfriendly feeling* had been ex-

elled ; and a spirit of conciliation had been cultivated, which promised, at least, a *calm* and *dispassionate reconsideration* of the subject.

" As soon as the chaplain had closed his prayer, and the minutes of the last sitting were read, all eyes were turned to the Doctor. He rose, and in a few words, stated that during the recess he had listened attentively to all the arguments, *pro* and *con*, which had been urged by both sides of the house ; that he had himself said much, and thought more on the subject ; he saw difficulties and objections which might be urged by individual States against every scheme which had been proposed ; and he was now more than ever convinced that the constitution which they were about to form, in order to be *just* and *equal*, must be founded on the basis of compromise and mutual concession. With such views and feelings, he would move a reconsideration of the vote last taken on the organization of the senate. The motion was seconded, the vote carried, the former vote rescinded, and by a successful motion and resolution, the senate was organized on the present plan."

In a year or two from this time, by the united voice of a free people, Washington was elevated to the high office of President of the United States.

In this exalted station his conduct continued to be distinguished by the same uniform and punctual observance of religious duties which had always marked his life. As he was chiefly resident in Philadelphia, during the eight years of his administration, he had a pew in Christ church of that city, of which the venerable Bishop White was then, as he is still, the Rector,* being

* This venerable man has died, since the above was written, universally esteemed and honoured.

now near his ninetieth year. During all the time that he was in the government, Washington was punctual in his attendance on divine worship. His pew was seldom vacant when the weather would permit him to attend. In regard to his habit, at that time, the living grandson of Mrs. Washington, Geo. W. P. Custis, Esq. of Arlington, bears the following testimony :

"On Sundays, unless the weather was uncommonly severe, the President, and Mrs. Washington, attended divine service at Christ church ; and in 'the evenings the President read to Mrs. Washington, in her chamber, a sermon, or some portion from the Sacred Writings. No visitors, with the exception of Mr. Speaker Trumbull, were admitted to the presidoliad on Sundays."

After his retirement from the Chair of State, he still continued the same in spirit and practice. The church in Alexandria was again his place of worship. The distance, indeed, was nine miles, and yet his pew was seldom unoccupied on the Lord's day. The writer, many years since, had the following circumstances, in relation to this habit of the ex-President, from a valued female friend, now numbered with the dead.

"In the summer of 1799," said Mrs. M., "I was in Alexandria, on a visit to the family of Mr. H., with whom I was connected by the ties of relationship. Whilst there, I expressed a wish to see General Washington, as I had never enjoyed that pleasure. My friend Mrs. H., observed, ' You will certainly see him on Sunday, as he is never absent from church when he can get there ; and as he often dines with us, we will ask him on that day, when you will have a better opportunity of seeing him.' Accordingly, we all repaired to

church on Sunday, and seated in Mr. H.'s large double pew, I kept my eyes upon the door, looking for the venerable form of him I had so long desired to see. Many persons entered the doors, but none came up to my impressions of General Washington's appearance. At length, a person of noble and majestic figure entered, and the conviction was instantaneous that I beheld the Father of his Country. It was so!—my friend at that moment intimated the fact to me. He walked to his pew, at the upper part of the church, and demeaned himself throughout the services of the day with that gravity and propriety becoming the place and his own high character. After the services were concluded we waited for him at the door, for his pew being near the pulpit he was among the last that came out—when Mrs. H. invited him to dine with us. He declined, however, the invitation, observing, as he looked at the sky, that he thought there were appearances of a thunder-storm in the afternoon, and he believed he would return home to dinner."

This occurrence is introduced, not for any peculiar interest belonging to it, but merely for confirmation: showing the punctuality and conscientiousness with which Washington attended to the duty in question, even to old age. He was now within six months of his death, having reached his 68th year; and yet he is not to be detained on the Sabbath from the House of God, either by distance or the fervours of a summer sun.

It may here be added, simply as evidence of his devotional habits, that he always said *grace* at table. On one occasion, from the force of habit, he performed this duty himself when a clergyman was present—an in-

stance of indecorum very unusual with him. Being told, after the clergyman's departure, of the incivility, he expressed his regret at the oversight, but added, "the reverend gentleman will at least be assured, that we are not entirely *graceless* at Mount Vernon."

Thus have we ample illustration of the unvarying practice to which the principles of Washington led him, in regard to the sacred duty of public worship. It may be, however, that the fullest admission of his zeal and good example in this respect, does not necessarily imply a conviction of his inward faith and piety. Some may think, that this outward attention to religion had no higher source than patriotism—than a regard for the prevalence of morality and good order in society—of which ends he no doubt considered the public worship of God to be highly promotive. That these motives alone did not originate his devotional habits, as evinced in the House of God, we are well assured; and in confirmation, shall now proceed to the consideration of those habits of private prayer ascribed to him; and which, if once fully verified, will forever settle the question of his faith and devotional feeling. He who prays habitually in secret, furnishes the best possible evidence of his sincerity. Such a one cannot be a dissembler. He has regard to no eye, but that of his Maker. If it is inevitable that a man's private habits, in this respect, will be known to his family, or those who are intimate with him; yet, it is clear that no motive can arise from such a source to induce long continued perseverance in the duty. This must be sustained by other influences. "Private prayer," says a good writer, "differs from public prayer in several respects. The proper subjects of public prayer

are such wants as belong to men in general. In private prayer, the wants of our particular state, our peculiar trials, dangers, and temptations, form the proper subjects of our addresses. Hence, private prayer is a peculiarly interesting part of devotion. It may also be considered as more spiritual in its nature. In public prayer there are many outward things to excite the affections—all good and profitable, perhaps, in themselves; still it must be owned, that the less our devotion arises from outward causes, and the less it depends on these, the more likely is it to be the genuine feeling of a pious heart, actuated by gratitude to God, admiration of his perfections, love to his character, confidence in his providence, and faith in his promises. Private prayer, therefore, is far more likely to be the result of a real fear and love of God. It cannot, at least, be the offspring of ostentation; nor is it easy to conceive that it should flow from hypocrisy.

* * * * * * *

“Private prayer is also a better test, or index, of the state of the soul, than public worship. Every man is, what he is in secret. When no eye is upon him, then his true character and feelings show themselves. If, then, he sincerely and devoutly pours out his heart before God; if, then, he truly mourns his sins, and fervently desires to obtain divine grace to pardon and sanctify him, there is good ground for believing that he is a real disciple of Christ.”

In our inquiries respecting this practice of Washington, the same amount or variety of matter will not be expected as abounded in testimony of his more public habits. And yet there is enough to satisfy every mind

that he was not less punctual and unremitting in his attention to the duties of the closet, than to those of the public Sanctuary.

At what period of life his observance of this sacred duty commenced it is impossible for mortals to know. But the following instances of secret prayer are submitted with the most perfect assurance of the certainty of their occurrence.

We before adduced the testimony of one of his aids in the French and Indian War, to his habit of reading the Scriptures and praying with his troops on Sundays, in the absence of the chaplain. This same individual, Col. B. Temple, has often been heard to say in connexion with the above, "that on sudden and unexpected visits into his (Washington's) marquee, he has, more than once, found him on his knees at his devotions."

The annexed article will furnish another well authenticated instance, occurring at a subsequent period of his life.

Extract of a letter from a Baptist minister to the Editor of the (Boston) Christian Watchman, dated Baltimore, January 13, 1832 :

"The Meeting-house (which is built of stone) belonging to the church just alluded to, is in sight of the spot on which the American army, under the command of General Washington, was encamped during a most severe winter. This, you know, was then called '*Valley Forge*.' It is affecting to hear the old people narrate the sufferings of the army, when the soldiers were frequently tracked by the blood from their sore and bare feet, lacerated by the rough and frozen roads over which they were obliged to pass.

"You will recollect that a most interesting incident, in relation to the life of the great American Commander-in-chief, has been related as follows:—That while stationed here with the army, he was frequently observed to visit a secluded grove. This excited the curiosity of a Mr. Potts, of the denomination of '*Friends*,' who watched his movements at one of these seasons of retirement, till he perceived that he was on his *knees* and engaged in *prayer*. Mr. Potts then returned, and said to his family, '*Our cause is lost*,' (he was with the tories,) assigning his reasons for this opinion. There is a man by the name of Devault Beaver, now living on this spot, (and is eighty years of age) who says he has had this statement from Mr. Potts and his family. I had before heard this interesting anecdote in the life of our venerated Washington, but had some misgivings about it, all of which are now most fully removed."

It may be added, that besides the individual named by the above writer as having witnessed the private devotions of Gen. Washington at Valley Forge, it is known that Gen. Knox also was an accidental witness of the same, and was fully apprized that *prayer* was the object of the Commander's frequent visits to the grove. This officer was especially devoted to the person of the Commander-in-chief, and had very free and familiar access to him, which may in some measure, account for his particular knowledge of his habits.

That an adjacent wood should have been selected as his private oratory, while regularly encamped for the winter, may excite the inquiry of some. The cause may possibly be found in the fact that, in common with the officers and soldiers of the army, he lodged during

that winter in a log hut, which, from the presence of Mrs. Washington, and perhaps other inmates, and the fewness of the apartments, did not admit of that privacy proper for such a duty.

Another instance of this pious habit, witnessed during the war, has more recently been brought to light.

In the year 1820, a clergyman of this State, being in company with Major ——, a relative of Gen. Washington, had an accidental conversation with him on the subject of Christianity. The conversation was of a controversial nature in the beginning, and as no good seemed to ensue, but some warmth of feeling, an effort was made to arrest the unprofitable discussion by an inquiry made of the Major, as to the religious opinions of his distinguished kinsman, the subject of these pages. This was done in part, as knowing his veneration for Washington, and for information too, as he had been captain of the General's body guard, during a greater part of the war, and possessed the best opportunities of learning his views and habits. In answer to the question, he observed, after hesitating for a moment, "Gen. Washington was certainly a pious man, his opinions being in favour of religion, and his habits all of that character and description." Being further interrogated as to his habits—he replied, that his uncle, he knew, was in the habit of praying in private—and with the animation of an old soldier, excited by professional recollections, rather than sympathy with the subject, he related the circumstances of the following occurrence "While encamped at ——* N. J., a soldier arrived one morning, about day-break, with despatches for the Commander-in-chief,

* The year and place forgotten by the writer,

from a distant division of the army. As soon as his business was known, he was directed to me as captain of the body guard, to whom he came forthwith, and giving me his papers, I repaired at once to the General's quarters. On my way to his room after reaching the house, I had to go along a narrow passage of some length. As I approached his door, it being yet nearly dark, I was arrested by the sound of a voice. I paused and listened for a moment, when I distinguished it as the General's voice, and in another moment found that he was engaged in audible prayer. As in his earnestness he had not heard my footsteps, or if he heard me did not choose to be interrupted, I retired to the front of the dwelling, till such time as I supposed him unengaged ; when returning, and no longer hearing his voice, I knocked at the door, which being promptly opened, I delivered the despatches, received an answer, and dismissed the soldier."

How impressive an example of sincere devotion have we here ! The leader of our armies, though oppressed with cares and labours, an unequalled burden, yet forsakes his friendly couch at the dawn of day, and upon his knees "cries unto God with his voice." He is not content with unuttered prayer. His earnestness seeks its natural vent in audible and articulate sounds.

"The habit of early rising," says a pious writer,* "is of great importance to the due discharge of morning prayer. Oh, how many precious hours do indolent Christians lose ; while those who are more self-denying and diligent, are gaining the favour of God and enjoying communion with him."

* Bickersteth.

"It was the daily practice of the eminent physician Boerhaave," says the same writer, "through his whole life, as soon as he rose in the morning, which was generally very early, to retire for an hour to private prayer and meditation on some part of the Scriptures. He often told his friends, when they asked him how it was possible for him to go through so much fatigue with such patience and quietness, that it was this which gave him spirit and vigour in the business of the day. This he therefore recommended as the best rule which he could give."

An additional example as occurring during the war, and taken from a respectable literary journal published in New-York, is here inserted as having in its prominent points, all the appearance of truth.

"One pleasant evening in the month of June, in the year 17—, a man was observed entering the borders of a wood, near the Hudson river, his appearance that of a person above the common rank. The inhabitants of a country village would have dignified him with the title of squire, and from his manner, have pronounced him proud; but those more accustomed to society would inform you, there was something like a military air about him. His horse panted as if it had been hard pushed for some miles, yet from the owner's frequent stops to caress the patient animal, he could not be charged with want of humanity; but seemed to be actuated by some urgent necessity. The rider's forsaking a good road for the by-path leading through the woods, indicated a desire to avoid the gaze of other travellers. He had not left the house where he inquired the direction of the above mentioned path more than two hours, be-

fore the quietude of the place was broken by the noise of distant thunder. He was soon after obliged to dismount, travelling becoming dangerous, as darkness concealed surrounding objects, except when the lightning's terrific flash afforded a momentary view of his situation. A peal louder and of longer duration than any of the preceding, which now burst over his head, seeming as if it would rend the woods asunder, was quickly followed by a heavy fall of rain, which penetrated the clothing of the stranger ere he could obtain the shelter of a large oak, which stood at a little distance.

"Almost exhausted with the labours of the day, he was about making such disposition of the saddle and his own coat, as would enable him to pass the night with what comfort circumstances would admit, when he espied a light glimmering through the trees. Animated with the hope of better lodgings, he determined to proceed. The way, which was somewhat steep, became attended with more obstacles the farther he advanced, the soil being composed of clay, which the rain had rendered so soft that his feet slipped at every step. By the utmost perseverance, this difficulty was finally overcome without any accident, and he had the pleasure of finding himself in front of a decent looking farm-house. The watch-dog began barking, which brought the owner of the mansion to the door.

"Who is there?" said he.

"A friend who has lost his way, and in search of a place of shelter," was the answer.

"Come in, sir," added the first speaker, "and whatever my house will afford, you shall have with welcome."

"I must first provide for the weary companion of my journey," remarked the other.

"But the former undertook the task, and after conducting the new-comer into a room where his wife was seated, he led the horse to a well-stored barn, and there provided for him most bountifully. On rejoining the traveller, he observed, 'That is a noble animal of yours, sir.'

"Yes," was the reply, "and I am sorry that I was obliged to misuse him so, as to make it necessary to give you much trouble with the care of him; but I have yet to thank you for your kindness to both of us."

"I did no more than my duty, sir," said the entertainer, "and therefore am entitled to no thanks. But Susan," added he, turning to the hostess, with a half-reproachful look, "why have you not given the gentleman something to eat?"

"Fear had prevented the good woman from exercising her well-known benevolence; for a robbery had been committed, by a lawless band of predators, but a few days before, in that neighbourhood, and as report stated that the russians were all well dressed, her imagination suggested that this man might be one of them.

"At her husband's remonstrance, she now readily engaged in repairing her error, by preparing a plentiful repast. During the meal, there was much interesting conversation among the three. As soon as the worthy countryman perceived that his guest had satisfied his appetite, he informed him, that it was now the hour at which the family usually performed their evening devotions, inviting him at the same time to be present. The invitation was accepted in these words :

"It would afford me the greatest pleasure to commune with my heavenly Preserver, after the events of the day; such exercises prepare us for the repose we seek in sleep."

"The host now reached his Bible from the shelf, and after reading a chapter and singing, concluded the whole with a fervent prayer; then lighting a pine-knot, conducted the person he had entertained to his chamber, wished him a good night's rest, and retired to the adjoining apartment.

"John," whispered the woman, "that is a good gentleman, and not one of the highwaymen as I supposed."

"Yes, Susan," said he, "I like him better for thinking of his God, than for all his kind inquiries after our welfare. I wish our Peter had been home from the army, if it was only to hear this good man talk; I am sure Washington himself could not say more for his country, nor give a better history of the hardships endured by our brave soldiers."

"Who knows now," inquired the wife, "but it may be he himself after all, my dear, for they do say, he travels just so, all alone, sometimes.* Hark! what's that?"

"The sound of a voice came from the chamber of their

* In the summer of 1779 Washington had his Head-Quarters on the Hudson river. That he was in the habit of travelling alone sometimes during the war is well known. The circumstances mentioned above are said to have occurred in the month of June,—the year it would seem not remembered. It appears from one of his letters that he was absent from camp for a day or two, about that time in 1779. In a letter dated New Windsor, July the 9th, he says, "I did not receive intelligence of this till the *afternoon* of the 7th inst., having been absent from head-quarters from the *morning* of the preceding day, on a visit to our outposts below, and those lately established by the enemy."

guest, who was now engaged in his *private religious worship*. After thanking the Creator for his many mercies, and asking a blessing on the inhabitants of the house, he continued, 'And now, almighty Father, if it is thy holy will, that we shall obtain a place and a name among the nations of the earth, grant that we may be enabled to show our gratitude for thy goodness, by our endeavours to fear and obey thee. Bless us with wisdom in our councils, success in battle, and let all our victories be tempered with humanity. Endow also our enemies with enlightened minds, that they may become sensible of their injustice, and willing to restore our liberty and peace. Grant the petition of thy servant for the sake of Him whom thou hast called thy Beloved Son; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done. Amen.'

"The next morning, the traveller, declining the pressing solicitations to breakfast with his host, declared it was necessary for him to cross the river immediately; at the same time offering a part of his purse, as a compensation for the attention he had received, which was refused.

"Well, sir," concluded he, "since you will not permit me to recompense you for your trouble, it is but just that I should inform you on whom you have conferred so many obligations, and also add to them by requesting your assistance in crossing the river. I had been out yesterday, endeavouring to obtain some information respecting our enemy, and, being alone, ventured too far from the camp; on my return I was surprised by a foraging party, and only escaped by my knowledge of the roads and the fleetness of my horse. My name is GEORGE WASHINGTON."

"Surprise kept the listener silent for a moment; then, after unsuccessfully repeating the invitation to partake of some refreshment, he hastened to call two negroes, with whose assistance he placed the horse on a small raft of timber, that was lying in the river near the door, and soon conveyed the General to the opposite side, where he left him to pursue his way to the camp, wishing him a safe and prosperous journey. On his return to the house, he found that while he was engaged in making preparations for conveying the horse across the river, his illustrious visitor had persuaded his wife to accept a token of remembrance, which the family are proud of exhibiting to this day.

"The above is only one of the many hazards encountered by this truly great patriot, for the purpose of transmitting to posterity the treasures we now enjoy. Let us acknowledge the benefits received, by our endeavours to preserve them in their purity; and by keeping in remembrance the Great Source whence these blessings flow, may we be enabled to render our names worthy of being enrolled with that of the father of his country."

Here we have again the same peculiarity of audible prayer that appeared in the preceding instance. It is certainly the natural way of expressing ardent and intense feeling.*

One who speaks of the private devotions of the celebrated Martin Luther, has these words: "I cannot enough describe the cheerfulness, constancy, faith, and hope of this man in these trying and vexatious times.

* This practice, it will be remembered, was recommended by Chief Justice Hale in one of the treatises before quoted.

He constantly feeds these good affections by a very diligent study of the word of God. Then, not a day passes in which he does not employ in prayer, three at least of his very best hours. Once I happened to hear him at prayer. What spirit, and what faith there is in his expressions! He petitions God with as much reverence as if he was actually in the divine presence, and yet with as firm a hope, and confidence, as he would address a father or a friend. ‘I know,’ said he, ‘theu art our Father and our God, therefore, I am sure thou wilt bring to nought the persecutors of thy children. For shouldst thou fail to do this, thine own cause, being connected with ours, would be endangered. It is entirely thine own concern: we, by thy providence have been compelled to take a part. Thou, therefore, wilt be our defence.’—Whilst I was listening to Luther, praying in this manner at a distance, my soul seemed on fire within me, to hear the man so address God like a friend, and yet with so much gravity and reverence.”

In the following perfectly authentic incident, we have a striking corroboration of those already recorded, and with them, furnishing proof so ample of the point before us, that it will be unnecessary to look for additional testimony.

During his residence in Philadelphia, as President of the United States, it was the habit of Washington, winter and summer, to retire to his study at a certain hour every night. He usually did so at nine o’clock—always having a lighted candle in his hand, and closing the door carefully after him. A youthful member of his household whose room was near the study, being just across

the passage, observing this constant practice of the President, had his thoughts excited in reference to the cause of so uniform a custom. Accordingly, on one occasion, in the indulgence of a juvenile curiosity, he looked into the room, sometime after the President had gone in; and to his surprise, saw him upon his knees at a small table, with a candle and open Bible thereon.

In these facts we have all the evidence we could ask of his uniform attention to the divinely commanded observance of private prayer. The evidence too, embraces a very large portion of his life. Our limited and partial information comprehends a period of forty years—that is, from his twenty-third to beyond his sixtieth year. It was his habit whilst engaged in the French and Indian war; it was so also during the revolutionary war; and it was the same during his presidential terms, and no doubt it was so to the end of his life.

How rooted and fixed must that gracious principle have been, which could produce such unwavering and persevering devotion to these duties,—a devotion not to be shaken or impaired by the trying scenes, circumstances and associations, which belonged to his peculiar avocations and earthly allotment. But in this very duty, no doubt, did he find strength for every trial. Here was in a great measure the secret of his greatness, and of the wonderful successes which ever attended him. It was the blessing of God on him, as his chosen and dutiful servant, that so fully equipped him for every service, and conducted him to the highest usefulness and to the greatest honour. It was in reference to this known excellence in Washington, that Dr. Mason of New-York, in the funeral eulogy pronounced on the occasion of his death, in

February, 1800, uses the language :—“That invisible hand which girded him at first, continued to guard and to guide him through the successive stages of the revolution. Nor did he account it a weakness to bend the knee in homage to its supremacy, and prayer for its direction. This was the armour of Washington, this the salvation of his country.”*

We cannot but remember with sadness, in this connexion, that many of the great ones of our world appear to think, that the important duty before us is altogether unsuited to persons of their distinction and dignity. But were not religion and greatness united in the person of Washington ? Did religion impair his greatness or cloud the lustre of his fame ? Count it not a weakness in him ; the “majesty of his character” forbids the thought. Rather let those endowed with talents and invested with office, follow his example ; and find in God a strength more than human, for every duty and every trial.

* “The example of Washington teaches a poignant reproof to those who think, or act as if they thought, that religion is incompatible with greatness. The majesty of his character forbids a suspicion, that his reverence for the worship of God, and his solicitude for the prevalence of religious principle, were either a tribute to prejudice, or a stratagem of state. But every possible doubt is removed by the fact, that it was his uniform practice, even during the war, to retire at a certain hour, for the devotion of the closet.”

CHAPTER V.

HIS RESPECT FOR THE SABBATH.

THE value of the Sabbath has ever been recognized by wise and good men. Its happy influence on the temporal as well as spiritual welfare of mankind has been seen by them. They have appreciated and confessed its salutary tendency in favour of the intellectual, moral and physical advancement of communities, duly improving its sacred advantages. Once, indeed, a vain philosophy, in its wantonness, attempted in another land to overthrow this great moral institute of society, as useless, if not injurious to the world; and accordingly, with sacrilegious hands, was it expunged from the calendar, and superseded by the substitution of *one day in ten*, as a day of rest. Of the result of that experiment the world is fully apprized. Short indeed was the reign of the Decades. Experience soon taught the impious authors of the change, that human wisdom could not instruct Jehovah, or human skill mend his work.

The importance of the Sabbath as an instrument of moral good to men, is thus vindicated by a distinguished writer.* “The Sabbath is eminently moral, as the indispensable means of preserving in the world a real and

* Dr. Dwight,

voluntary obedience of all the other commands in the Decalogue. Wherever the Sabbath is not, religion dies of course ; and morality of every kind, except so far as convenience and selfishness may keep the forms of it alive, is forgotten." Again, "Wherever the Sabbath is not, there is no worship, no religion. Man forgets God, and God forsakes man. The moral world becomes a desert, where life never springs, and beauty never smiles. The beams of the sun of righteousness never dawn upon the miserable waste ; the rains of heaven never descend. Putrid with sin, and shrunk with ignorance, the soul of man loses its rational character, and prostrates itself before devils, men, beasts and reptiles, insects, stocks and stones." 'That we possess this divine gift, is a ground of unbounded gratitude and praise to God. "The Sabbath, *according to his abundant mercy*, returns at the close of every week, to shine upon us with its peaceful and benevolent beams. At the close of every week, with a *still, small voice*, it summons us to the house of God. Here we meet, and find, and know, and serve our glorious and blessed Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier ; here he makes known *his* pleasure and *our* duty ; here he promises to those who obey, divine and eternal rewards, and threatens those who disobey, with terrible and never ending punishments. Seen every week in these awful and amiable characters, God cannot be unknown nor forgotten. Accordingly, throughout the ages of Christianity, his presence and agency are understood every where, and by every person who frequents the house of God. The little child is as familiarly acquainted with them as the man of gray hairs ; the peasant as the monarch. *All* in

this sense *know God, from the least to the greatest; and there is no occasion for a man to say to his neighbour, Know the Lord.*"

Speaking of the Sabbath, Dr. Rush says, "If there were no hereafter, individuals and societies would be great gainers by attending public worship every Sunday. Rest from labour in the house of God, winds up the machine of both soul and body, better than any thing else, and thereby invigorates it for the labours and duties of the ensuing week."

With this the testimony of Chief Justice Hale essentially agrees, having a more explicit reference to the divine blessing. "I have often found," says he, "by a strict and diligent observation, that a due observing the duty of the Lord's day, hath ever joined with it a blessing on the rest of my time, and the week that hath been so begun, hath been blessed and prosperous to me; so that I could from the loose or strict observance of that day, take a just prospect and true calculation of my temporal successes the ensuing week."

The wisdom and piety of Washington combined to render him a strict observer of the Sabbath, and a jealous advocate of its authority and sanctity. Of this, we have a strong collateral proof in his conscientious and habitual attendance on the services of the Sanctuary as performed on that day. But there are other evidences which directly show that his principles on this point were fixed and settled. The following occurrence is well authenticated, and serves to assure us of his unfeigned reverence for the "Holy of the Lord."

"In the town* of ——, in Connecticut, where the roads were extremely rough, Washington was overtaken by night, on Saturday, not being able to reach the town, where he designed to rest on the Sabbath. Next morning about sun-rise, his coach was harnessed, and he was proceeding onward to an inn, near the place of worship, which he proposed to attend.

"A plain man, who was an informing officer, came from a cottage, and inquired of the coachman whether there were any urgent reasons for his travelling on the Lord's day. The General, instead of resenting this as impertinent rudeness, ordered the coachman to stop, and with great civility explained the circumstances to the officer, commanding him for his fidelity, and assured him that nothing was farther from his intention than to treat with disrespect the laws and usages of Connecticut, relative to the Sabbath, *which met with his most cordial approbation.*"

Though he had, as we have seen, paid a marked respect to the claims of the Sabbath, throughout his previous life—there seemed to be, during his Presidency, an increased regard and deference for the same. Not only was he most punctual in his attendance on the public worship of God, whenever it was possible, but the discipline of his house was strictly conformed to the obligations and proprieties of the day. It was an established rule of his mansion, that visitors could not be admitted on Sundays. It is understood that an exception to the rule

* Town or Township—a section of country six miles square; into a number of which the State is divided. General Washington was now making the tour of New-England, in the autumn of 1789.

was made in the case of one individual, viz., Mr. Trumbull, Speaker of the House of Representatives. He often spent an hour on Sunday evenings with the President; and so entirely was the privilege confined to him, that it was usual with the house servant when he heard the door-bell ring, on those evenings, to call it, the "speaker's bell."

After spending a part of the day at church, and occasionally an hour in the evening with Mr. Trumbull, one of the most pious men of his age—the rest of the time preceding the hour of repose was occupied, as mentioned in a previous chapter, by the President's reading to Mrs. Washington, a sermon or a portion of the Holy Scriptures.

CHAPTER VI.

HIS RESPECT FOR THE CLERGY.

AT every period of his life, was the conduct of Washington marked by a special respect for the office and person of the ministers of religion. He honoured the calling, as one of express divine appointment, and him who filled it, as the living representative of the Divine Author of Christianity. This was the combined result of his good sense and pious affections. He well knew that religion could not long be maintained in any community, where its ministers were lightly esteemed. He also knew and felt that no higher offence could be offered the Almighty, than to contemn and refuse his duly accredited ambassadors. He was incapable of that injustice and pusillanimity, which can insult a clergyman, because he is known to be comparatively defenceless—as of that narrow-minded and illiberal jealousy which looks with suspicion upon the ministers of Christ for no other assignable reason, than the errors or vices which may have distinguished some of their order, in the lapse of ages. He was well able to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty; and his sense of justice, as well as bene-

volence of feeling, prompted him to a scrupulous regard for so manifest a duty.

Through every stage of his illustrious career the marks of this wise and becoming course may be distinctly traced.

While embarked in the French and Indian War, as Commander of the Virginia forces, he earnestly sought of Governour Dinwiddie the supply of a chaplain to his regiment. His language was:—

“The want of a chaplain, I humbly conceive reflects dishonour on the regiment, as all other officers are allowed. The gentlemen of the corps are sensible of this, and proposed to support one at their private expense. But I think it would have a more *graceful appearance* were he appointed as others are.”

To this the Governour replied :—

“I have recommended to the commissary to get a chaplain, but he cannot prevail upon any person to accept of it; I shall again press it to him.”

In answer to which Washington wrote :—

“As to a chaplain, if the government will grant a subsistence, we can readily get a person of merit to accept the place, without giving the commissary any trouble on that point.”

With the letter, of which this was a part, the Governour seems not to have been well pleased. In his reply, among other things, indicating displeasure, he says :—

“In regard to a chaplain, you should know, that his qualification and the bishop’s letter of license, should be produced to the commissary and myself: but this person is also nameless.”

Washington answered :—

"When I spoke of a chaplain, it was in answer to yours. I had no person in view, though many have offered; and I only said, if the country would provide subsistence, we could procure a chaplain, without thinking there was offence in the expression."*

Notwithstanding the importunity of Washington, no chaplain was provided, at least by the government. His solicitude on the subject continuing, he wrote to the President of the Council, about two years after the above correspondence with the Governour, in words already quoted under another head.

"The last Assembly, in their Supply Bill, provided for a chaplain to our regiment. On this subject I had often, without any success, applied to Governour Dinwiddie. I now flatter myself that your Honour will be pleased to appoint a sober, serious man for this duty." &c.

Having seen the nature of his feelings, in regard to the Christian ministry, as evinced in his earlier days, we pass to similar indications as attending his subsequent life.

It has before appeared, that after his marriage, he was a constant attendant on divine worship; and that the most friendly intercourse subsisted between himself and the minister of the parish—the latter being often a guest at Mount Vernon. The annexed portions of a letter from his pen, are inserted more as serving to fill up a chasm in our record, than for any thing very decisive. The letter is addressed to the Rev. Dr. Cooper, President of King's College, New-York; its date, Mount Vernon, December 15, 1773:

* Governour Dinwiddie, though compelled by public opinion, to place Washington in honourable station, was never his cordial friend.

"The favourable account which you were pleased to transmit to me of Mr. Custis's conduct at college, gave me very great satisfaction. I hoped to have felt an increase of it by his continuance at that place, under a gentleman so capable of instructing him in every branch of useful knowledge.

* * * * *

"I am very sorry it was not in my power to see you while in these parts. I thank you very sincerely, sir, for your polite regard to Mr. Custis, during his abode at college, and through you, beg leave to offer my acknowledgments in like manner to the professors. With very great esteem and regard, reverend sir, I am," &c.

In his instructions to Colonel Arnold, in September, 1775, when that officer was about to march against Quebec, he thus expresses himself :

"As the contempt of the religion of a country, by ridiculing any of its ceremonies, or affronting its *ministers* or votaries, has ever been deeply resented, you are to be particularly careful to restrain every officer and soldier from such imprudence and folly, and to punish every instance of it. On the other hand, as far as lies in your power, you are to protect and support the free exercise of the religion of the country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters, with your utmost influence and authority."

As showing the *principle* on which the above admonition was given—that it was not one of mere worldly policy, a private communication to the same officer, on the same subject, and of the same date, is here given :

"I also give it in charge to you to avoid all disrespect

of the religion of the country, and its ceremonies. Prudence, policy, and a true Christian spirit, will lead us to look with compassion upon their errors without insulting them. While we are contending for our own liberty we should be very cautious not to violate the rights of conscience in others, ever considering that God alone is the judge of the hearts of men, and to Him only in this case, they are answerable."

The following letter will add yet other evidences of the kind and respectful feelings which he ever cherished towards worthy ministers of Christ. The communication is addressed to the President of Congress, and dated September 30, 1775 :

"The Rev. Mr. Kirkland,* the bearer of this, having been introduced to the honourable Congress, can need no particular recommendation from me. But as he now wishes to have the affairs of his mission and public employ put upon some suitable footing, I cannot but intimate my sense of the importance of his station, and the great advantages which may result to the United Colonies, from his situation being made respectable.

"All accounts agree, that much of the favourable disposition shown by the Indians, may be ascribed to his labour and influence. He has accompanied a chief of the Oneidas to this camp, which I have endeavoured to make agreeable to him, both by civility and some small presents. Mr. Kirkland also being in some necessity for money, to bear his travelling charges and other expenses,

* The Rev. Samuel Kirkland was missionary to the Oneida Indians, among whom he resided many years.

I have supplied him with thirty-two pounds lawful money."

In writing to Governour Trumbull about this time, he says :

" Having heard that it is doubtful whether the Reverend Mr. Leonard, from your colony, will have it in his power to continue here as chaplain, I cannot but express some concern, as, I think, his departure will be a loss. His general conduct has been exemplary and praiseworthy ; in discharging the duties of his office, active and industrious. He has discovered himself to be a warm and steady friend to his country, and taken great pains to animate the soldiers, and impress them with a knowledge of the important rights we are contending for. Upon the late desertion of the troops, he gave a sensible and judicious discourse, holding forth the necessity of courage and bravery, and at the same time of obedience and subordination to those in command.

" In justice to the merits of this gentleman, I thought it only right to give you this testimonial of my opinion of him, and to mention him to you as a person worthy of your esteem and that of the public."

In a letter to the President of Congress written about the same time, he says :

" I have long had it on my mind to mention to Congress, that frequent applications have been made to me respecting the chaplains' pay, which is too small to encourage men of abilities. Some of them, who have left their flocks, are obliged to pay the parson acting for them more than they receive. I need not point out the great utility of gentlemen, whose lives and conversation are unexceptionable, being employed for that service in this

army. There are two ways of making it worth the attention of such ; one is, an advancement of their pay ; the other, that one chaplain be appointed to two regiments. This last, I think, may be done without inconvenience. I beg leave to recommend this matter to Congress, whose sentiments hereon I shall impatiently expect."

From the Orderly Book, July 9th, 1776. "The honourable Continental Congress having been pleased to allow a chaplain to each regiment, with the pay of thirty-three dollars and one-third per month, the colonels or commanding officers of each regiment are directed to procure chaplains accordingly, persons of good characters and exemplary lives, and to see that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them a suitable respect. The blessing and protection of Heaven are at all times necessary, but especially so in times of public distress and danger. The General hopes and trusts, that every officer and man will endeavour so to live and act as becomes a *Christian soldier*, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

To the President of Congress :—Trenton, 6th. Dec. 1776.

"By a letter of the 14th ultimo from a Mr. Caldwell, a clergyman, and a stanch friend to the cause, who has fled from Elizabethtown and taken refuge in the mountains, about ten miles from hence, I am informed, that General or Lord Howe was expected in that town, to publish pardon and peace. His words, 'I have not seen his proclamation, but can only say he gives sixty days of grace, and pardons from the Congress down to the committee. No one man in the continent is to be

denied his mercy.' In the language of this good man, 'The Lord deliver us from his mercy !'"

From Valley Forge he wrote to the Rev. Israel Evans, as follows :

" VALLEY FORGE, 13th March, 1778.

" Reverend Sir,

" Your favour of the 17th ultimo, enclosing the Discourse which you delivered to General Poor's brigade on the 18th of December, the day set apart for a general thanksgiving, never came to my hands till yesterday. I have read this performance with equal attention and pleasure ; and at the same time that I admire and feel the force of the reasoning, which you have displayed through the whole, it is more especially incumbent upon me to thank you for the honourable but partial mention you have made of my character ; and to assure you that it will ever be the first wish of my heart to aid your pious endeavours to inculcate a due sense of the dependance we ought to place in that all-wise and powerful Being, on whom alone our success depends ; and moreover to assure you, that, with respect and regard, I am, reverend sir," &c. &c.

About this time, the late Dr. Dwight, President of Yale College, then chaplain to General Parson's brigade, wrote to General Washington in the following language :

" The application which is the subject of this letter, is, I believe not common in these American regions, yet it will not I hope on that account, be deemed impertinence or presumption. For several years I have been employed in writing a poem on the Conquest of Canaan by Joshua. This poem, upon the first knowledge of your Excellency's character, I determined, with leave, to inscribe to

you. If it will not be too great a favour, it will certainly be remembered with gratitude."

In answer Gen. Washington wrote, with the usual address :—

"I yesterday received your favour of the 8th instant, accompanied by so warm a recommendation from General Parsons, that I cannot but form favourable presages of the merit of the work, you propose to honour me with the dedication of. Nothing can give me more pleasure, than to patronise the essays of genius, and a laudable cultivation of the arts and sciences, which had begun to flourish in so eminent a degree, before the hand of oppression was stretched over our devoted country ; and I shall esteem myself happy, if a poem, which has employed the labour of years, will derive any advantage, or bear more weight in the world, by making its appearance under a dedication to me. I am," &c.

In the year 1779 Gen. Washington addressed the following respectful letter to "The Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Dutch Reformed Church at Rariton.—

"CAMP, MIDDLEBROOK, 2 June, 1779.

" Gentlemen,

" To meet the approbation of good men cannot but be agreeable. Your affectionate expressions make it still more so. In quartering an army, and in supplying its wants, distress and inconvenience will often occur to the citizen. I feel myself happy in a consciousness that these have been strictly limited by necessity, and in your opinion of my attention to the rights of my fellow-citizens. I thank you, gentlemen, sincerely, for the sense you entertain of the conduct of the army, and

for the interest you take in my welfare. I trust the goodness of the cause and the exertions of the people, under Divine protection, will give us that honourable peace for which we are contending. Suffer me, gentlemen, to wish the Reformed Church at Rariton, a long continuance of its present minister and consistory, and all the blessings which flow from piety and religion. I am," &c.

In August of 1789, Dr. Griffith, minister of Farifax Parish, Alexandria, but then Bishop-elect of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, died in Philadelphia. On the occasion, Dr. William Smith preached a funeral sermon, in which the following words occur :—

"In the service of his country, during our late contest for Liberty and Independence, he was near and dear to our illustrious Commander-in-chief—he was also his neighbour, and *honoured and cherished by him as a pastor and friend.*"

During his Presidency, Washington, as we have seen, attended public worship at Christ Church, Philadelphia. Of that church, Dr. White, was then the Rector; as he was also Bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania. This aged and venerable man, often recurs with grateful remembrance to the kindly intercourse which subsisted between himself and his illustrious parishioner. He was a frequent and honoured guest at the mansion of the President—always sharing his marked attentions, with those of Mrs. Washington.

CHAPTER VII.

HIS ALMS-GIVING.

KINDNESS to the poor is made an essential fruit of Christian principle, by the authority of God's word. Numerous and express are the precepts of the inspired volume, inculcating this duty as one of high and paramount obligation. Without making it a substitute for real piety, it is uniformly declared to be a most excellent product of true religion, and necessary not only as an ornament but as a proof of sincerity in those professing the faith of the gospel.

There are many, indeed, who manage to evade this sacred obligation, never being at a loss for excuses, which if not sound, are at least plausible. At one time they think the poor are idle,—let them work and they will not want. If this excuse will not avail, as many of the poor cannot work, then they say, "We cannot afford to give" and it may be that they will at last, with convenient facility, take shelter under the authority of God's word, for that end quoting the apostle,—"If any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel."

Washington was faithful in this as in his other duties;

not seeking apologies for neglect, but rather for opportunities of discharging the claims of so excellent a virtue.

The following account rests on the authority of Mr. Johnson, former Governour of Maryland, and a soldier of the Revolution. The language of his informer was in substance as follows :

“ Just before the revolutionary war, I took a trip to the Sweet Springs of Virginia. In consequence of the crowd, I at first found some difficulty in getting lodgings, but at length was fortunate enough to get a mattrass in the hut of a very honest baker, who often visited the springs for the benefit of his business. Among others who came daily to his shop for bread, there were sundry poor, sickly looking individuals who came in, and at his nod would take up each of them a loaf, and go out without paying, as others did. This led to an inquiry on my part, and to the assurance on his, that he had been authorized by Colonel Washington, who was at the springs, to furnish these people with bread, he engaging to pay the bill. This bill, he added, sometimes amounted to eighty dollars, and those who received the charity never knew from whence it came, entire secrecy being enjoined on him by the benevolent donor.”

An English soldier, who had been an attendant of General Braddock during his fatal expedition, and at his death, after that event entered into the service of Washington, and was attached to his person during the French and Indian war. After that he married, and a home was provided for him at Mount Vernon. “ Being too old to follow his beloved commander in the struggle for independence, he was left at home to enjoy the repose which old age requires. Children loved to visit the old

soldier, and listen to the tales of the Indian war, which he delighted in telling. When Washington was passing round his farm, he often stopped to gladden the heart of the gray-headed veteran, with kind words; and he lived to enjoy the comforts which had been provided for him until he was eighty years of age."

In the year 1769 Washington addressed the following kind proposal to a neighbour, Mr. W. R. :

"Having once or twice of late heard you speak highly of the New-Jersey College, as if you had a desire of sending your son William there, (who, I am told, is a youth fond of study and instruction, and disposed to a studious life, in following which he may not only promote his own happiness, but the future welfare of others,) I should be glad, if you have no other objection to it than the expense, if you would send him to that college as soon as convenient, and depend on me for twenty-five pounds a year for his support, so long as it may be necessary for the completion of his education. If I live to see the accomplishment of this term, the sum here stipulated shall be annually paid; and if I die in the mean time, this letter shall be obligatory upon my heirs or executors to do it, according to the true intent and meaning hereof.

"No other return is expected or wished for this offer, than that you will accept it with the same freedom and good-will with which it is made, and that you may not even consider it in the light of an obligation or mention it as such; for be assured, that from me it will never be known."

In 1774 he wrote to Edward Snickers, from Williamsburg—"Enclosed you will receive Mr. Hughes' warrant

in his own right for two thousand acres of land, the getting of which at this time, he must look upon as a very great favour, as the Governour has dispensed with two positive instructions to oblige him.

* * * * *

"I got a gentleman of my acquaintance in Maryland to mention his case to Governour Eden, who promised to have the matter inquired into, and do what he could for his relief. Why it has not been done I cannot tell ; but if my contributing twenty or twenty-five pounds to his relief will procure his liberty, you may set me down for that sum, and I will pay it at any time when the subscription is full. But how he is to get over the other matter of giving Maryland security for his good behaviour, I know not."

From a letter addressed to Mr. Lund Washington, the faithful manager of his estates during the revolutionary war, we make the following extract. The date of the letter is "Cambridge, 26th November, 1775.

"Let the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness : and I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire it should be done. You are to consider that neither myself nor wife is now in the way to do these good offices. In all other respects, I recommend it to you, and have no doubt of your observing the greatest economy and frugality, as I suppose you know that I do not get a farthing for my ser-

vices here, more than my expenses ; it becomes necessary, therefore, for me to be saving at home."

"One of his 'managers,' after the war, was a Mr. Peake, a respectable man, who once said in reference to the subject before us :—'I had orders from Gen. Washington to fill a corn-house every year, for the sole use of the poor in my neighbourhood, to whom it was a most seasonable and precious relief, saving numbers of poor women and children from extreme want, and blessing them with plenty.'"

He also provided for the poor around him in other ways. "He owned several fishing stations on the Potomac, at which excellent herring were caught, and which, when salted, proved an important article of food to the poor. For their accommodation he appropriated a station—one of the best he had, and furnished it with all the necessary apparatus for taking herring. Here the honest poor might fish free of expense, at any time, by only an application to the overseer ; and if at any time unequal to the labour of hauling the seine, assistance was rendered by the order of the General. By this means, all the poor round about had the means of procuring a competent stock of this valuable food for their families."

One Reuben Rouzy, of Virginia, owed him about 1000 pounds. While President of the United States, one of his agents brought an action for the money ; judgment was obtained, and execution issued against the body of the defendant, who was taken to jail. He had a considerable landed estate, but this kind of property cannot be sold in Virginia for debts, unless at the discretion of the owner. He had a large family, and for the

sake of his children preferred lying in jail to selling his land.

"A friend hinted to him that probably General Washington did not know any thing of the proceeding, and that it might be well to send him a petition, with a statement of the circumstances. He did so; and the very next post from Philadelphia, after the arrival of his petition in that city, brought an order for his immediate release, together with a full discharge, and a severe reprimand to the agent for having acted in such a manner.

"Poor Rouzy was in consequence restored to his family, who never laid down their heads at night without presenting their prayers to heaven for their 'beloved Washington.' Providence smiled on the labours of the grateful family, and in a few years Rouzy enjoyed the exquisite pleasure of being able to lay the thousand pounds, with the interest, at the feet of his benefactor.—Washington reminded him that the debt was discharged. Rouzy replied, the debt of his family to the father of their country, and preserver of their parent, could never be discharged; and the General, to avoid the importunity of his grateful debtor, who would not be denied, accepted the money—only, however, to divide it among Rouzy's children, which he immediately did."

From some of the private letters before referred to as in the hands of the writer, a few extracts are here given confirming the incidents already detailed.

He writes to his relative acting as his land agent; the date "Philadelphia, February 22, 1795:—

"Your letter of the 17th ult. came duly to hand; but the pressure of business in which I am always involved

whilst Congress are in session, has prevented my acknowledging the receipt of it at an earlier date.

* * * * *

"Mrs. H. should endeavour to do what she can for herself ;—this is the duty of every one. But you must not let her suffer, as she has thrown herself upon me ; your advances on this account will be allowed always at settlement ; and I agree readily to furnish her with provisions; and from the good character you give of her daughter, make the latter a present, in my name, of a handsome but not costly gown, and other things which she may stand mostly in need of. You may charge me also with the worth of your tenement on which she is placed ; and where perhaps it is better she should be, than at a greater distance from your attentions to her."

In a subsequent letter there is another reference to the same case ; the date "Mount Vernon, June 26, 1796 : . " We arrived at this place on Monday last, where it is probable I shall remain till the middle of August, when public business will require *my* attendance in Philadelphia, until towards the end of September. I shall then return to this place again for Mrs. Washington, with whom, in the latter part of October, I shall make my last journey, to close my public life the 4th of March ; after which no consideration under heaven, that I can foresee, shall again withdraw me from the walks of private life.

* * * * *

"I am sorry to hear of the death of Mrs. H. ; and will very cheerfully receive her daughter the moment I get settled at this place ; sooner it would not be possible ; because this house will be as it has been, empty from the

time we shall quit it in October, until my final establishment in the spring. Such necessaries as she needs in the mean time, may, however, be furnished her at my expense, and if it is inconvenient for you to retain her in your own house, let her be boarded in some respectable family, where her morals and good behaviour will be attended to; at my expense also. Let her want for nothing that is decent and proper, and if she remains in your family, I wish for the girl's sake, as well as for the use she may be of to your aunt, when she comes here, that Mrs.— would keep her industriously employed *always*, and instructed in the care and economy of housekeeping.

"There is another reason against her coming here until I am permanently fixed; and that is, that my house, I expect, will be crowded with company all the while we shall be at it, this summer; as the ministers of France, Great Britain and Portugal, in succession, intend to be here—besides other strangers."

Writing to the same from "Mount Vernon, 11th Feb. 1798," he says, in reference to the same person. "Enclosed is a letter for S. H. left open for your perusal before it is forwarded to her; with the contents of which, respecting the payment of *ten pounds*, I request you to comply; and charge the same to the account of your collection of my rents."*

* The individual to whom these private letters were addressed, once mentioned to the writer the following occurrence; which is here inserted as furnishing a pleasing example of the munificent disposition of Washington.—"Whilst acting as his agent," he observed, "I accidentally ascertained that he owned a tract of land in — county, of which he had given me no account. Some short time after the discov-

In his Will, the following bequest is found, viz :—“ To the trustees, governours, or by whatsoever other name they may be designated, of the academy in the town of Alexandria, I give and bequeath, in trust, four thousand dollars, or in other words, twenty of the shares which I hold in the bank of Alexandria, toward the support of a free-school, established at, and annexed to, the said academy, for the purpose of educating orphan children, or the children of such other poor and indigent persons as are unable to accomplish it with their own means, and who, in the judgment of the trustees of the said seminary, are best entitled to the benefit of this donation. The aforesaid twenty shares I give and bequeath in perpetuity, the dividends only of which are to be drawn for, and applied by the said trustees, for the time being, for the uses above mentioned, the stock to remain entire and untouched, unless indications of failure of the

ery, being on a visit at Mount Vernon, with my family, I mentioned the fact to him, at which he seemed to be at a loss, expressing his surprise that such a claim should have escaped him. When the conversation had ended, I remarked, in a jocular tone, that I had had a somewhat singular dream about that land, a few nights before. He asked me what is was. I replied, that I had dreamed he had made me a present of the tract. He smiled, and observed that my dreaming knack was a very convenient one, but why did I not dream at once that he had given me Mount Vernon? A few days after this, in setting out for my residence, the General accompanied myself and wife to the carriage, when in taking leave of us, he put into my hands a small slip of paper, requesting me to examine it at my leisure. Thinking it probably contained memoranda of some kind, relating to my agency, I put it into my pocket, and did not look at it for some time. When I did so, however, I was surprised to find, that in the space of six written lines, he had made me a conveyance of the land in — county. The tract contained upwards of eleven hundred acres.

said bank should be so apparent, or a discontinuance thereof should render a removal of this fund necessary. In either of these cases, the amount of the stock here devised is to be vested in some other bank, or public institution, whereby the interest may with regularity and certainty be drawn and applied as above. And, to prevent misconception, my meaning is, and is hereby declared to be, that these twenty shares are in lieu of, and not in addition to, the £1000 given by a missive letter some years ago, in consequence whereof an annuity of £50 has since been paid towards the support of this institution."

Many other instances might here be added, of the benevolence of "the father of his country,"—the insertion of which, would especially evince one peculiarity marking his character, which was, that he did not, in every case, postpone them till death. He either thought it a duty, or desired to share the luxury of doing good in his life time. Besides the annuity secured by him, some years before his death, to the Alexandria free school, he also endowed "Liberty Hall Academy, Rockbridge County," now Washington College, with the sum of \$10,000--the amount of stock given him by Virginia in the James River Company.

CHAPTER VIII.

HIS FILIAL LOVE.

THE obligations of filial affection have their foundation alike in the dictates of nature and of revelation. He that can wantonly violate them, in doing so, must trample on some of the plainest demands of moral propriety, and set at naught the most solemn injunctions of the Divine Word. In barbarous lands, indeed, this sacred duty has been cruelly disregarded, and thereby practically denied. There, has usage often authorized the child, in raising his parricidal arms against those who gave him birth; especially when age and infirmities rendered them unfit for the business of life, and a supposed burden to the community. But a far different standard of filial morality has been established in Christian lands, and of consequence a widely different practice prevails. Here, it is a duty of paramount obligation. Indeed so obvious and reasonable a one is it, that they are scarcely thought deserving of praise who discharge it, seeing its glaring neglect, would stamp the character with a mark of peculiar infamy. And yet, however monstrous a vice filial ingratitude may be, its existence is not so rare, as to render its opposite virtue without its claims to commendation.

tion. There is certainly in the world a great deal of unkindness in children towards their parents,—enough to cause much unhappiness in the latter, if not to tarnish the characters of the former. They have a claim, then, to the tribute of our approbation, who, resisting every temptation to this sin, do faithfully and affectionately exemplify a virtue of such distinguished excellence, and important social effects as that of filial love.

“Every child,” says a pious writer, “is bound to entertain the most respectful and reverential *thoughts* concerning his parents, and concerning the parental character. He is to remember, and regard his parents, as standing in the most venerable, and the most endearing, of all earthly relations to him ; as those to whom, under God, he owes his being, and the great mass of his blessings. He is to regard them as the persons, to whose kindness, care, and government, he has been committed by God himself. He is to consider them as the best of all friends; the most affectionate, the most faithful, the most confidential, the most persevering, the most watchful, the most unwearied.

“The words uttered by children, which respect their parents in any manner, are to correspond with the thoughts, which have been here recommended, and, if effectual care is taken to make the thoughts right, the words will be right of course.

“The deportment of children, when their parents are present, ought to exhibit every mark of respect. The honour which God commands them to give, ought in the literal sense to be here invariably rendered without qualification, without reserve, without reluctance. However humble the station, the circumstances, the edu-

tion, or the manners of parents may be ; the child instead of discovering that he is ashamed of them, is bound cheerfully to acknowledge their proper superiority ; to exhibit towards them a respectful deference ; and always to prevent even a remote suspicion, that he is reluctant to give them their proper place.

“ When children have left their father’s house ; their circumstances become materially changed, and with them in several respects, their duties—

* * * * *

“ Still, as they are more indebted to their parents than to any other human beings, and incomparably more indebted, at least in ordinary cases ; their remaining duties to their parents are numerous and important. In this situation, more than any other, they are required to contribute to the maintenance of their parents. This is made by our Saviour so important a branch of the duty under consideration, that he declares the ‘Pharisees,’ who by a fraudulent comment on the fifth commandment, had released men from the obligation in question, to have ‘made this command of God of none effect through their tradition.’ In this period, also, they are bound as much as may be, to nurse and soothe their parents in pain and sickness ; to bear patiently and kindly their infirmities of body and mind ; to alleviate their distresses ; to give them the cheering influence of their company and conversation ; and in these and various other ways, to serene and brighten the evening, but too frequently a melancholy one, of old age.”

That the subject of our present work was an example of this, as of many other virtues, we have very satisfactory ground of belief and assurance.

It would seem that from his earliest youth he had been an obedient and dutiful child. This was the testimony of his mother, in a conversation with certain distinguished officers of the French army, who, after the War, paid her a visit of compliment at her residence in Fredericksburg, Virginia. In answer to their encomiums on her son, she simply remarked, that "George had always been a good boy." That it was so, let the subjoined narrative attest.

That a mother should love such a son as George proved himself to be, and that a son should love such a mother, as Mrs. Washington certainly was, is not at all surprising. From his earliest days she had exerted her whole influence to imbue him with a love of whatever is lovely and of good report; and her exertions had not been in vain. How well he repaid her for her kind care may be seen in the following story:—

"When about fourteen years of age, he became strongly inclined to go to sea, with a view of enlisting in the service of 'the mother country,' at that time engaged in a war with France and Spain.

"It was surprising that a youth so young, and who had been abroad so little, should have had the moral courage to quit country and friends, on a purpose so full of danger. But so it was. He was resolved to go. Preparations had been made. A midshipman's birth had been procured for him on board a British man-of-war, then lying in sight of his mother's house; and even his trunk was on board.

"When the precise time arrived that he was to go, he passed into the sitting room of his mother, to take his leave of her. She was seated and in tears.

"He approached her, and putting his arms about her neck, affectionately kissed her. He was about to bid her 'farewell ;' but he hesitated. Her affection and affliction unmanned him. He was young and ambitious ; and at that early day the spirit of patriotism, which so nobly characterized him in after life, in respect to his country, was stirring within him. Yet the filial feelings of his heart were stronger than any other ties ; and here, nobly sacrificing his pride and ambition, he relinquished his purpose, and staid to comfort her who gave him birth.

"It was a noble self-denial. And in the now more than forty years, that the writer of this has been upon the stage, and watched the course of human events, he can bear his testimony to the uniform prosperity of such as have honoured father and mother. There is a promise recorded in favour of filial piety, and a God, who never forgets it, and never fails to fulfil it.

"But my story is unfinished. The boat which was conveying officers and men and baggage from the shore to the ship, continued to ply. At length she returned on shore for the last time. A signal flag was hoisted to denote that all was ready.

"George was standing viewing the movements. Several of his companions now entered the boat, which presently was urged towards the ship by several lusty oarsmen.

"As they approached her, the signal gun for sailing was fired. The flash followed by the report was noticed by George, soon after which the sails rose majestically one after another.

"George could no longer bear the sight with calmness, but turned away, and entered the room where his mother

sat. She observed the grief which sat upon his countenance ; upon which she said :—

“ ‘ I fear, my son, that you have repented your determination to stay at home and make me happy.’

“ ‘ My dear mother,’ he replied, at the same time placing his arms about her neck, and giving vent to his feelings with a gush of tears, ‘ I did strongly wish to go, but I could not endure being on board the ship, and know that you were unhappy.’

“ ‘ Well, my dear boy,’ said Mrs. Washington, returning his embrace, ‘ I deeply feel your tenderness towards your mother, and trust that God will not let your *filial affection* go unrewarded.’ ”*

About eighteen months after the relinquishment of his maritime project, Washington, as has been before noticed, entered into the service of Lord Fairfax as a surveyor. During the three years in which he was thus engaged, his home was with his brother at Mount Vernon, a part of his leisure time being spent with his mother at Fredericksburg, or rather on her farm directly opposite to that town. During one of these visits, we find him, with filial solicitude, guarding the interests of his widowed parent, in the following communication made to his brother Lawrence, then in Williamsburg, as a member of the House of Burgesses. The date of

* In this story we have the facts as generally believed in relation to that event in Washington’s life. It is due, however, to the claims of historical accuracy, to say, that the narrative is probably incorrect in some of its details. If things ever reached the crisis there recorded, and which is not here denied, it is certain that the scene is not properly laid at Mrs. Washington’s residence, near which no ship of war ever rode. Mount Vernon was the place more probably, below which, in the Potomac, the vessel is said to have been.

the letter, of which we give an extract, is May 5th, 1749.

"As my mother's term of years is out at the place at Bridge Creek, she designs to settle a quarter on the piece at Deep Run, but seems backward in doing it, till the right is made good, for fear of accident. It is reported here, that Mr. Spotswood intends to put down the ferry at the wharf where he now lives, and that Major Francis Taliaferro intends to petition the Assembly to have it kept from his house, over against my mother's quarter, and through the very heart and best of the land. Whereas he can have no other view in it, than for the convenience of a small mill, which he has on the water-side, which will not grind above three months in the twelve, and on account of the great inconvenience and prejudice it will be to us, I hope it will not be granted. Besides, I do not see where he can possibly have a landing-place on his side, that will ever be sufficient for a lawful landing, by reason of the steepness of the banks. I think we suffer enough from the free ferry, without being troubled with such an unjust and iniquitous petition as that; but I hope, as it is only a flying report, that he will consider better of it, and drop his pretensions."

The next reference to his mother on record is found in a letter to Robert Orme, aid-de-camp of General Braddock; dated, Mount Vernon, April 2, 1755:

"The arrival of a good deal of company (among whom is my mother, alarmed at the report of my intention to attend your fortunes,) deprives me of the pleasure of waiting upon you to-day, as I had designed. I therefore beg that you will be kind enough to make my compliments and excuse to the General, who I hope to hear

is greatly recovered from his indisposition, and recruited sufficiently to prosecute his journey to Annapolis."

A few days after Braddock's defeat, and his own wonderful preservation in that battle—whilst halting at Fort Cumberland, to recover a little his strength which had been wasted by a severe sickness—he wrote to his mother in the following language. His object seems to have been, to relieve her maternal solicitude on his account.

"FORT CUMBERLAND, 18th July, 1755.

"Honoured Madam,

"As I doubt not but you have heard of our defeat, and perhaps had it represented in a worse light, if possible, than it deserves, I have taken this earliest opportunity to give you some account of the engagement as it happened, within ten miles of the French Fort, on Wednesday, the 9th instant.

* * * * *

"Captains Orme and Morris, two of the aids-de-camp, were wounded early in the engagement, which rendered the duty harder upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the General's orders, which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recovered from a violent illness, that had confined me to my bed and wagon for above ten days. I am still in a weak and feeble condition, which induces me to halt here two or three days in the hope of recovering a little strength, to enable me to proceed homewards; from whence, I fear, I shall not be able to stir till towards September; so that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you till then, unless it be in Fairfax. Please to give my love to Mr. Lewis and my sister; and compliments to Mr. Jackson, and all other

friends that inquire after me. I am, honoured madam, your most dutiful son."

In a few weeks subsequent to the above, he wrote again :—

“MOUNT VERNON, 14th August, 1755.

“Honoured Madam,”

“If it is in my power to avoid going to the Ohio again, I shall ; but if the command is pressed upon me, by the general voice of the country, and offered upon such terms as cannot be objected against, it would reflect dishonour on me to refuse it ; and that, I am sure, must or ought to give you greater uneasiness, than my going in an honourable command. On no other terms will I accept of it. At present I have no proposals made to me, nor have I any advice of such an intention, except from private hands.”

The following extract from a Diary, which he kept in the year 1760, the year after his marriage, will supply a gratifying instance of his filial devotion.

“Jan. 16th.—I parted with Mr. Gisbourne, leaving Colonel Champe’s before the family was stirring, and about ten o’clock reached my mother’s, where I breakfasted, and then went to Fredericksburg with my brother Samuel, whom I found there. About noon it began snowing, the wind at north-west, but not cold. Was disappointed of seeing my sister Lewis, and getting a few things, which I wanted out of the stores. Returned in the evening to my mother’s ; all alone with her.”

From this period he was in the habit of regularly visiting his mother as long as she lived. Mount Vernon being about fifty miles from Fredericksburg, he performed this duty once or twice a year, except when

his public engagements prevented. In the Fredericksburg Newspaper of March 12th, 1789, we find the subjoined notice of one of his visits.

"On Saturday evening last, His Excellency General Washington arrived in town from Mount Vernon, and early on Monday morning he set out on his return. The object of his Excellency's visit was probably to take leave of his *aged mother*, sister, and friends, previous to his departure for the new Congress, over the counsils of which, the united voice of America has called him to preside."

This was the last interview which Washington ever had with his mother. She died on the 25th of August following, in her 83d year, whilst he was in New-York. The writer has before him, a part of the mourning dress which he wore, as a token of respectful and affectionate remembrance of her who had given him birth. On opening her Will he was found to be her principal heir and chosen Executor. She gave him all her landed property. The language of the Will is as follows:—

"*Imprimis*, I give to my son General George Washington, all my lands on Accokeek Run, in the County of Stafford," &c.

The Will concludes thus:—

"Lastly, I nominate and appoint my son General George Washington, Executor of this my Will; and as I owe few or no debts, I direct my Executor to give no Security, nor to appraise my Estate, but desire the same may be allotted to my Devisees with as little trouble and delay as may be—desiring their acceptance thereof, as all the token I now have to give them of my love for them."

The following letter, written by General Washington to his only sister, Mrs. Betty Lewis, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, will attest the filial sensibility with which he regarded the death of his mother, and the pious resignation cherished by him in reference to the event.

“ NEW-YORK, 13th September, 1789.

“ My Dear Sister,

“ Colonel Ball’s letter gave me the first account of my mother’s death. Since that, I have received Mrs. Carter’s letter, written at your request, and previous to both, I was prepared for the event, by some advices of her illness communicated to your son Robert.

“ Awful and affecting as the death of a parent is, there is consolation in knowing that Heaven has spared ours to an age beyond which few attain, and favoured her with the full enjoyment of her mental faculties, and as much bodily strength as usually falls to the lot of fourscore. Under these considerations, and the hope that she is translated to a happier place, it is the duty of her relatives to yield due submission to the decrees of the Creator. When I was last at Fredericksburg, I took a final leave of my mother, never expecting to see her more.

“ It will be impossible for me at this distance, and circumstanced as I am, to give the smallest attention to the execution of her will; nor, indeed, is much required if, as she directs, no security should be given, or appraisement made of her estate, but that the same should be allotted to the devisees with as little trouble and delay as may be. How far this is legal, I know not. Mr. Mercer can, and I have no doubt would readily advise you if asked, which I wish you to do. If the ceremony of inventoring, appraising, &c. can be dispensed with, all the

rest, as the will declares that few or no debts are owing, can be done with very little trouble. Every person in that case, may immediately receive what is specifically devised.

"Were it not that the *specific legacies** which are left to me by the will, are meant, and ought to be considered and received as mementos of parental affection, in the last solemn act of life, I should not be desirous of receiving or removing them ; but in this point of view, I set a value on them much beyond their intrinsic worth.

"Give my love to Mrs. Carter, and thank her for the letter she wrote to me. I would have done this myself, had I more time for private correspondence. Mrs. Washington joins me in best wishes for her, yourself, and all other friends ; and I am, with the most sincere regard, your affectionate brother."

May we not commend to the youth of our country, this example of persevering and respectful filial love. It commenced with his childhood, and distinguished him till its venerated object left the world, nor failed to move him with tenderest recollections in contemplating that event. And surely the wonted blessing attended it. The divine promise was richly fulfilled in his history. He "lived long upon the earth, and it was well with him all the days of his life." Filial piety is not only lovely, but it is ever advantageous ; the approbation of the wise and good, with the blessing of God, crowning it with prosperity here, and bright rewards hereafter, its source being conscientious and religious.

* The legacies alluded to, consisted of a few plain articles of household furniture.

CHAPTER IX.

HIS CONJUGAL LOVE.

THE importance of this affection to the happiness of families, communities, and nations, has long since been established by the experience of mankind. On its decided existence in those united in the bonds of holy wedlock, the benefits of that divine institution mainly depend. Marriage is the fruitful source of the most of that felicity which may be attained in this world. It is the foundation of all the grateful connexions of life, and instrumental of the purest delights to those, who derive from it their unbought claims, to the joys of reciprocal love and tenderness. It is the prolific root, which teeming with the blossoms and fruits of domestic and social sympathy, diffuses so much sweet odour, so much real delight through the family and neighbourhood circles. Who can tell how much suffering has been avertè!, how much sorrow has been allayed, how much evil mitigated, or how much comfort has been imparted, by the mutual love and encouragement of husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, with the auxiliary kindness added, of kindred, united in acknowledged, though feebler bonds.

Of this sacred relationship, love is the hallowed cement, and bountiful nurse of all its numerous progeny of

blessings—of its solicitudes, cares and labours for the young—as of its sympathies and charities diffused over the wider surface of connexions, relatives and friends. :

Of this important virtue the father of his country was a distinguished example. For more than forty years he owned the connubial tie, and during that protracted term, he discharged the duties of the nuptial vow, with unimpeachable fidelity. He was himself denied the blessing of issue. But this privation afforded an additional opportunity of displaying his conjugal tenderness, in the uniform kindness and care with which he protected, fostered, and educated the offspring of his wife, the fruit of her former marriage.

We pass to the proofs of this virtue as furnished by the varied and frank productions of his own pen.

In a letter to Richard Washington, London, written some months after his marriage, he says,—

“I am now, I believe, fixed at this seat with an agreeable partner for life ; and I hope to find more happiness in retirement, than I ever experienced amidst the wide and bustling world. I thank you heartily for your good wishes. Why will you not give me an occasion of congratulating you in the same manner ? None would do so more cordially than, dear sir, your most obedient and obliged servant.”

In the year 1771, young Custis, the son of Mrs. Washington, proposed to make the tour of Europe, with his tutor, the reverend Mr Boucher, of Annapolis, Maryland. In relation to that object, Gen. Washington wrote to Mr. Boucher, in a strain of sensibility, both in reference to the youth and his mother, that must be gratifying to the reader :

"Upon the whole," he says, in conclusion, "it is impossible for me at this time to give a more decisive answer, however strongly inclined I may be to put you upon a certainty in this affair, than I have done; and I should think myself wanting in candour, if I concealed any circumstance from you, which leads me to fear, that there is a possibility, if not a probability, that the whole design may be totally defeated. Before I ever thought myself at liberty to encourage this plan, I judged it highly reasonable and necessary that his mother should be consulted. I laid your first letter and proposals before her, and desired that she would reflect well before she resolved, as an unsteady behaviour might be a disadvantage to you. Her determination was, that if it appeared to be his inclination to undertake this tour, and it should be judged for his benefit, she would not oppose it, whatever pangs it might give her to part with him. To this declaration she still adheres, but in so faint a manner, that I think, with her fears and his indifference, it would soon be declared he has no inclination to go. I do not say that this will be the case. I cannot speak positively, but as this is the result of my own reflections upon the matter, I thought it but fair to communicate it to you.

"Several causes I believe, have concurred to make her view his departure, as the time approaches, with more reluctance than she expected. The unhappy situation of her daughter has in some degree fixed her eyes upon him as her only hope. To what I have already said, I can only add, that my warmest wishes are, to see him prosecute a plan at a proper period which I may be sure will redound to his advantage, and that nothing shall be wanting on my part to aid and assist him."

In his care for this young man, he wrote to the President of King's college, New-York, under whose superintendence he had been placed, for the purpose of completing his education. His letter is dated "Mount Vernon 15. December 1773.

"The favourable account which you were pleased to transmit to me, of Mr. Custis's conduct at college, gave me very great satisfaction. I hoped to have felt an increase of it by his continuance at that place, under a gentleman so capable of instructing him in every branch of useful knowledge. But this hope is at an end; and it has been against my wishes, that he should quit college, in order that he may enter soon into a new scene of life, which I think he would be much fitter for some years hence, than now.* But having his own inclinations, the desires of his mother, and the acquiescence of almost all his relatives to encounter, I did not care, as he is the last of the family, to push my opposition too far, and I have therefore submitted to a kind of necessity."

We give the following letter entire, as affording a most satisfactory testimony to the tender and considerate regard of the writer for his beloved spouse. It was written to her on occasion of his accepting the command of the American army, at the hands of the second Continental Congress, of which he was a member.

"PHILADELPHIA, 18th June, 1775.

"My Dearest,

"I am now set down to write to you on a subject, which fills me with inexpressible concern; and this concern is greatly aggravated and increased, when I reflect

* His marriage with the daughter of Mr. Benedict Calvert, which took place on the 3d of February, 1774.

upon the uneasiness I know it will give you. It has been determined in Congress, that the whole army raised for the defence of the American cause, shall be put under my care, and it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the command of it.

" You may believe me, my dear Patsy, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavour in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity ; and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home, than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose. You might, and I suppose did perceive, from the tenor of my letters, that I was apprehensive I could not avoid this appointment, as I did not pretend to intimate when I should return. That was the case. It was utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment, without exposing my character to such censures, as would have reflected dishonour upon myself, and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not, and ought not, to be pleasing to you, and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely, therefore, confidently on that Providence, which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting but that I shall return safe to you in the fall. I shall feel no pain from the toil or the danger of the

campaign; my unhappiness will flow from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone. I therefore beg that you will summon your whole fortitude, and pass your time as agreeably as possible. Nothing will give me so much sincere satisfaction as to hear this, and to hear it from your own pen. My earnest and ardent desire is, that you would pursue any plan that is likely to produce content, and a tolerable degree of tranquillity; as it must add greatly to my uneasy feelings to hear, that you are dissatisfied or complaining at what I really could not avoid.

"As life is always uncertain, and common prudence dictates to every man the necessity of settling his temporal concerns, whilst it is in his power, and whilst the mind is calm and undisturbed, I have, since I came to this place (for I had not time to do it before I left home,) got Colonel Pendleton to draft a Will for me by the directions I gave him, which Will I now enclose. The provision made for you in case of my death, will, I hope, be agreeable.

"I shall add nothing more, as I have several letters to write, but to desire that you will remember me to your friends, and to assure you that I am, with the most unfeigned regard, my dear Patsy, your affectionate," &c.

In a letter to his brother, written two days after the above, he says:

"I shall hope that my friends will visit and endeavour to keep up the spirits of my wife, as much as they can, for my departure will, I know, be a cutting stroke upon her; and on this account alone I have many disagree-

able sensations. I hope that you and my sister, although the distance is great, will find so much time this summer, as to spend a little of it at Mount Vernon."

In October he wrote again to the same brother—John A. Washington.

"I am obliged to you for your advice to my wife, and for your intention of visiting her. Seeing no great prospect of returning to my family and friends this winter, I have sent an invitation to Mrs. Washington to come to me, although I fear the season is too far advanced to admit this with any tolerable degree of convenience, especially if she should, when my letters get home, be in New Kent, as I believe the case will be. I have laid before her a statement of the difficulties, however, which must attend the journey, and left it to her own choice."

Some weeks after the above, he writes to Joseph Reed, from the Camp at Cambridge :—

"I thank you for your frequent mention of Mrs. Washington. I expect that she will be in Philadelphia about the time this letter may reach you, on her way hither. As she and her conductor, who I suppose will be Mr. Custis, her son, are perfect strangers to the road, the stages, and the proper place to cross Hudson's River, by all means avoiding New-York, I shall be much obliged by your particular instructions, and advice to her. I imagine, as the roads are bad and the weather cold, her stages must be short, especially as I presume her horses will be fatigued ; as when they get to Philadelphia, they will have performed a journey of at least four hundred and fifty miles, my express having found her

among her friends near Williamsburg, one hundred and fifty miles below my own house." *

He writes to the same December 15th, '75.

" Since my last, I have had the pleasure of receiving your favours of the 28th ultimo, and the 2d instant. I must again express my gratitude for the attention shown to Mrs. Washington at Philadelphia. It cannot but be pleasing, although it did, in some measure, impede the progress of her journey."

To the same, he writes, December 25th, 1775.

" I am so much indebted for the civilities shown to Mrs. Washington on her journey hither, that I hardly know how to acknowledge them. Some of the enclosed (all of which I beg the favour of you to put into the post-office) are directed to that end, and I shall be obliged to you for presenting my thanks to the command-

" Mrs. Washington arrived in camp on the 11th of December, accompanied by her son, Mr. Custis, and his wife.—It seems that some persons thought her in danger at Mount Vernon, which stands on the bank of the Potomac River, and is accessible to armed ships of the largest size. Lund Washington had written to the General.—" Many people have made a stir about Mrs. W. continuing at Mount Vernon, but I cannot think there is any danger. The thought I believe originated in Alexandria; from thence it got to Loudoun, and I am told the people of Loudoun talk of sending a guard to conduct her up to Berkley, with some of their principal men, to persuade her to leave this place and accept their offer. Mr. John A. Washington wrote, pressing her to leave Mount Vernon. She does not believe herself in danger. Lord Dunmore will hardly himself venture up this river; nor do I believe he will send on that errand. Surely, her old acquaintance, the attorney, who, with his family, is on board his ship, would prevent his doing an act of that kind. You may depend I will be watchful, and upon the least alarm persuade her to remove."

ing officer of the two battalions of Philadelphia, for the honour done to her and me, as also to any others equally entitled. I very sincerely offer you the compliments of the season, and wish you and Mrs. Reed, and your fire-side, the happy return of many of them, being, dear sir, yours," &c.

To John Augustine Washington, he writes, under date of New-York, April 29, 1776.

"Mrs. Washington is still here, and talks of taking the small-pox ; but I doubt her resolution. Mr. and Mrs. Custis will set out in a few days for Maryland."

In May he wrote to the same :

"Mrs. Washington is now under inoculation in this city ; and will, I expect, have the small-pox favourably. This is the thirteenth day, and she has very few pustules. She would have written to my sister, but thought it prudent not to do so, notwithstanding there could be but little danger of conveying the infection in this manner. She joins me in love to you and all the little ones. I am with every sentiment of regard, dear sir, your most affectionate brother."

Addressing the Marquis De La Fayette, then in Paris, 30th September, 1779, he says :

"Mrs. Washington, who set out for Virginia when we took the field in June, has often in her letters to me inquired if I had heard from you, and will be much pleased at hearing that you are well and happy. In her name, as she is not here, I thank you for your polite attention to her, and shall speak her sense of the honour conferred on her by the Marchioness."

The following is found in his last Will and Testament :—

"Item. To my dearly beloved wife, *Martha*

Washington, I give and bequeath the use, profit, and benefit of my whole estate, real and personal, for the term of her natural life, except such parts thereof as are specially disposed of hereafter. My improved lot in the town of Alexandria, situated on Pitt and Cameron streets, I give to her and her heirs forever; as I also do my household and kitchen furniture of every sort and kind, with the liquors and groceries which may be on hand at the time of my decease, to be used and disposed of as she may think proper.

* * * * *

"And whereas, it has always been my intention, since my expectation of having issue has ceased, to consider the grand-children of my wife in the same light as I do my own relations, and to act a friendly part by them, more especially by the two who we have raised from their earliest infancy: Wherefore, I give and bequeath," &c.

To these strong proofs of the warm and devoted attachment of Washington to his excellent wife, we only add the following touching incident:

On the sad night of his dissolution, when attendants were about to prepare his body for the grave, a miniature likeness of Mrs. Washington was found on his breast, where it had hung, suspended by a ribbon from his neck, for more than forty years.

CHAPTER X.

HIS RESPECT FOR SUPERIORS.

THERE are few dispositions of the human heart of more worth, than that which inclines us to pay a due respect to properly constituted authority, and render a willing obedience to its legitimate commands. Without this important virtue in cheerful exercise, it is manifest that the ends of society cannot be attained. All that is precious in the social state, would soon fall a sacrifice to the opposite spirit. Where there was once peace, quiet, comfort and prosperity, "wild uproar now lording it wide," would convert the grateful scene into one of universal confusion, distress and misery.

That the tendency of our age is to an abuse of liberty, and the sacrifice of its blessings at the shrine of an exaggerated equality among men, is obvious to the most superficial observation. There is abroad a morbid dread of power, which scarcely admits of the existence of any kind or degree of government. Rulers are regarded in the light of mere automata, elevated, not to govern, but to be governed; so that every thing like free and intelligent action on their part, is considered an offence

against the majesty of those, who have delegated the authority held by them.

That the jealousy of power, duly chastened and discreetly guarded, is fit and salutary in all communities, does not admit of a doubt. The histories of most governments sufficiently demonstrate this. But it is equally clear and certain, that the restraints thrown around the chosen ministers of law, by the ultra spirit of the times, are destructive of the real ends of government; and must eventually bring about anarchy and its horrid train of attendant evils, or make way for the iron rule of a bold and triumphant despotism.

Government is a divine ordinance. "The powers that be are ordained of God." The mode and means of their creation is very much left by the Almighty to the will of nations. But when exalted to the seat of authority,—reverence, obedience, and support become high and religious duties.

The example of him who seems to have been right, in almost every thing he did, will be found here also of great value to his countrymen, especially to youth. From early life did he strikingly display this virtue. Its foundation, indeed, as is generally the case, was laid beneath the paternal roof. He was there early taught to obey. And from the beginning he did obey. His dutiful conduct towards his widowed mother, was uniformly and consistently exhibited. He thus evinced his high sense of filial obligation, and the duty of submission to those by nature authorized to rule. This spirit animated him all his days, and attended him in all the relations of social life. With the unequivocal instances thereof, his history abounds.

In a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, dated Alexandria, 24th November 1756, he says:

"At this place, on my way to Williamsburg, I received your Honour's letter of the 16th instant. I shall take care to pay the strictest obedience to your orders, and the opinion, so far as I can.

* * * * *

"I am very sorry any expression in my letter should be deemed *unmannerly*. I never intended insults to any; on the contrary, I have endeavoured to demean myself *with the proper respect due to superiors*. In the instance mentioned, I can truly say, so far from intending a charge or affront of any kind, it was distant from my thoughts.

* * * * *

"I am sorry to find that my best endeavours of late meet with unfavourable constructions. What it proceeds from, I know not. If my open and disinterested way of writing and speaking, has the air of pertness and freedom, I shall correct my error by acting reservedly, and shall take care to obey my orders without offering any thing more."

A few weeks after the above, he wrote to the same :

"I hope, after receiving a peremptory order, the mentioning of these things will not appear presuming or odd. I do not hesitate a moment to obey. On the contrary I shall comply as soon as I can. I mean nothing more than to point out the consequences that must necessarily attend this step, as I apprehend you were not thoroughly apprised of our situation. Some, sir, who are inclined to put an unfavourable construction on this ingenuous recital, may say that I am loath to leave Winchester. I declare, upon my honour, I am not, but had rather a

thousand times be at Fort Cumberland, if I could do the duty there. I am tired of this place, and the life I lead here; and if, after what I have said, you should think it necessary for me to reside at that fort, I shall acquiesce with pleasure and cheerfulness, and be freed from much anxiety, plague, and business.

* * * * *

"The wampum and tomahawks I have purchased. The want of the other articles may occasion some murmuring, and there are very few things suitable at Fort Cumberland. The Indians expect to be sent back upon horses. Do you approve that they should? I will not take upon me to buy horses without your orders."

He soon wrote again to the same: "I am a little at a loss to understand the meaning of your orders, and the opinion of the Council, when I am directed to evacuate all the stockade forts, and at the same time to march only one hundred men to Fort Cumberland, and to continue the like number here to garrison Fort Loudoun. If the stockade forts are all abandoned, there will be more men than are required for these two purposes; and the communication between them of near eighty miles, will be left without a settler, unguarded and exposed. But I mean nothing more by this intimation, than to ascertain your intentions, to which I would willingly pay strict obedience."

The following note, by the Editor of Washington's writings, adds illustration to our subject:

"On the 12th Jan. Col. Washington wrote to the Gouvernour, respecting the trial of several subaltern officers and soldiers for a mutiny. 'I thought it needless,' said he, 'to send the proceedings of the court-martial, or to ask war-

rants for execution, as we have no law to inflict punishment, even of the smallest kind. I shall keep those criminals in irons, and if possible, under apprehensions of death, until some favourable opportunity may countenance a reprieve.' The Governour replied, 'that as the men were enlisted and paid with money raised for the King's service, he conceived they were subject to the articles of war, in the same manner as the King's regular forces.' But so tenacious was Colonel Washington in upholding the rights of the Assembly and the laws of the Colony, that he did not accede to this opinion. He considered the Assembly as the only proper authority to prescribe rules of discipline for an army, raised and maintained at their expense ; and he believed himself amenable to the civil laws for any acts of severity not countenanced by that code. This was conformable to the scrupulous exactness with which, during all his future military career, and frequently when the interest of the public service offered the strongest temptations to the contrary, he yielded implicit obedience to the civil power.'"

With one decisive indication of this spirit, as occurring during the revolutionary war, we close this chapter.— Writing to Joseph Reed under date of Cambridge, 3d March, 1776, he says :

"This, you will observe, was contrary to my expectation and plan ; yet, as I thought it a matter of the last importance to secure the communication of the North River, I did not deem it expedient to countermand the raising of the Connecticut regiments on account of the pay. If I have done wrong, those members of Congress, who think the matter ought to have been left to them,

must consider my proceedings as an error of judgment, and that a measure is not always to be judged by the event.

"It is moreover worthy of consideration, that in cases of extreme necessity like the present, nothing but decision can ensure success ; and certain I am, that Clinton had something more in view by peeping into New-York, than to gratify his curiosity, or make a friendly visit to his friend Mr. Tyron. However, I am not fond of stretching my powers ; and if the Congress will say, 'Thus far and no farther you shall go,' I will promise not to offend whilst I continue in the service."

Thus, by obedience, was he trained for command. Wisely respecting the claims of authority in others, seldom has the same been more respected, than in his own person. "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." Having learned in so good a school, he exercised power, when entrusted to him, with consummate skill and wisdom. Acquainted with the rights of *superiors*, he also understood those which belonged to *inferiors*. Thus he seldom erred in governing—never requiring too much submission, or receiving less than was due. With so much judgment did he always hit the golden mean, that never was there less complaint of the personal bearing of a Ruler, or a more cheerful obedience rendered to one in authority. He verified throughout the sacred truth, that, "whosoever humbleth himself shall be exalted."

CHAPTER XI.

HIS SELF-DENIAL.

THERE is nothing which human nature regards with more aversion, than the duty here presented for consideration. Our earliest and strongest impulses ever incline us to unrestrained indulgence. This inordinate tendency of the appetites and affections, is the fruit of a diseased and perverted nature in man, and distinguishes him wherever he is found on the face of the earth. Victory over this morbid propensity is a rare achievement ; indeed we may say, it is never really effected, without the special aid of Heaven. By the force of motives drawn from reason and interest, men may at times have accomplished something in this way. Assured that nothing great or good was ever compassed without it, they have persuaded themselves to encounter a present inconvenience, in the hope of gaining thereby an eventual recompense. In such cases, however, you may not look for perseverance or consistency of practice. It is only when prompted by religious principle, that the duty will be embodied in the habits, and find therein an unaffected and uniform exemplification.

In the history of Washington we have a striking example of this spirit. Without a particle of the stoic

about him ; yea, with a very considerable taste for social delights and domestic enjoyments ;—he did, from a very early period of life, evince a constant willingness to encounter perils and endure privations in any cause, deemed by him of sufficient importance to merit the sacrifice. To surrender personal ease and indulgence, at the call of duty, seems to have been a fixed principle of his life.

In his first public undertaking, which was to visit and deliver a letter from Gouvernor Dinwiddie, to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, we have an early development of this strong trait of character. He was then a very young man—being little more than twenty-one years of age, and in possession of an ample fortune. Yet, at the voice of his country, did he cheerfully resign the ease and comforts of home, and encounter a journey, in the depth of winter, and through a savage wilderness, the performance of which cost him every privation, exposed him to many dangers, and subjected him to incredible fatigue.

A few extracts from the journal of his tour shall supply the proofs of his self-sacrificing spirit. His journey commenced about the 1st of November, 1753.

“I was commissioned and appointed by the Honourable Robert Dinwiddie, Esquire, Gouvernor of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey on the same day ; the next I arrived at Fredericksburg, and engaged Mr. Jacob Vanbraam to be my French interpreter, and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessaries. From thence we went to Winchester, and got baggage, horses, &c., and from

thence we pursued the new road to Will's Creek, where we arrived on the 14th of November.

"Here I engaged Mr. Gist to pilot us out, and also hired four others as servitors, and in company with those persons left the inhabitants next day.

"The excessive rains and vast quantity of snow which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's, until Thursday 22d.

"December 7th.—At twelve o'clock, we set out for the fort, and were prevented arriving there until the 11th, by excessive rains, snows, and bad travelling through many mires and swamps; these we were obliged to pass, to avoid crossing the creek, which was impassable, either by fording or rafting, the water was so high and rapid.

"14th.—As the snow increased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, under the care of Barnaby Currin and two others, to make all convenient despatch to Venango, and there to wait our arrival, if there was a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to continue down to Shannopin's Town, at the fork of the Ohio, and there to wait until we came to cross the Alleghany; intending myself to go down by water, as I had the offer of a canoe or two.

"As I found many plots concerted to retard the Indians' business, and prevent their returning with me, I endeavoured all that lay in my power to frustrate their schemes, and hurried them on to execute their intended design I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety, as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem, which the most fruitful brain could invent, was practised (by the French) to win the Half-

King to their interest ; and that leaving him there, was giving them the opportunity aimed at, &c.

“ 16th.—We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the creek. Several times we had liked to have been staved against rocks ; and many times were obliged, all hands, to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged, and made it impassable by water ; we were, therefore, obliged to carry our canoe across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the 22d, where we met with our horses.

* * * * *

“ 23d.—Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy, (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require,) that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking-dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day ; the cold increased very fast ; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing ; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his Honour the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey, the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

“ Accordingly, I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries

from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient despatch in travelling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch-coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering Town, where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannopin's Town, we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night; then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far, as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued travelling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shannopin's. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities. There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off; but before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft,

that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water ; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft-logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

“The cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier’s.

* * * * *

“Tuesday the 1st of January, we left Mr. Frazier’s house, and arrived at Mr. Gist’s, at Monongahela, the 2d, where I bought a horse and saddle. The 6th, we met seventeen horses loaded with materials and stone for a fort at the Fork of the Ohio, and the day after, some families going out to settle. This day we arrived at Will’s Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the 1st of December to the 15th, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly ; and throughout the whole journey, we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

“On the 11th, I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest ; and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg on the 16th, when I waited upon his Honour the Governour, with the letter I had brought from

the French commandant, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings," &c.

In the military expedition to the West, which soon followed the report of his first visit as contained in his journal, just quoted, and of which he was, originally, second in command, and then, first, in consequence of the death of the commanding officer, Colonel Fry—the same trials, difficulties, and privations were willingly encountered. To this, his letters written at various periods during the campaign, frequently refer. The following passages are taken from a communication to Governour Dinwiddie, dated "Camp, at the Great Meadows, 29th May, 1754 :

" And here I cannot forbear answering one thing more in your letter on this head, which, too, is more fully expressed in a paragraph of Colonel Fairfax's letter to me, as follows ;—'If on the British establishment, officers are allowed more pay, the regimentals they are obliged annually to furnish, and their necessary table and other incidental expenses, being considered, little or no savings will be their portion.'

" I believe it is well known, that we have been at the expense of regimentals ; and it is still better known, that regimentals, and every other necessary, which we were under an indispensable necessity of purchasing for this expedition, were not to be bought for less in Virginia currency, than they would cost British officers in sterling money ; which ought to have been the case to put us on a parity in this respect. Then, Colonel Fairfax observes, that their table and other incidental charges prevent them from saving much. They have the enjoyment of their pay, which we neither have in one sense nor the

other. We are debarred the pleasure of good living; and, sir, I dare say you will acknowledge, that, with one who has always been used to it, it must go somewhat hard to be confined to a little salt provision and water, and to do duty, hard, laborious duty, which is almost inconsistent with that of a soldier, and yet have the same reductions as if he were allowed luxuriously. My pay, according to the British establishment and common exchange, would be near twenty shillings per day; in the room of which, the Committee, (for I cannot in the least imagine your Honour had any hand in it,) has provided twelve shillings and six-pence, so long as the service continues, whereas one half of the other is confirmed to British officers for life. Now if we should be fortunate enough to drive the French from the Ohio, as far as your Honour would please to have them sent, in any short time, our pay will not be sufficient to discharge our first expenses.

"I would not have you to imagine from this, that I have said all these things to have the pay increased, but to justify myself, and show you that our complaints are not frivolous, but founded upon strict reason.

* * * * *

"Now, sir, as I have answered your letter, I shall beg leave to acquaint you with what has happened since I wrote by Mr. Gist. I there informed you that I had detached a party of seventy-five men to meet fifty of the French, who, we had intelligence, were upon their march towards us. About nine o'clock the same night, I received an express from the Half-King, who was encamped with several of his people about six miles off, that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen crossing

the road, and that, behind, the whole body were lying not far off, as he had an account of that number passing Mr. Gist's.

"I set out with forty men before ten, and it was from that time till near sunrise before we reached the Indians' camp, having marched in small paths, through a heavy rain, and a night as dark as it is possible to conceive. We were frequently tumbling one over another, and often so lost, that fifteen or twenty minutes search would not find the path again."

During the whole of the war, which was now commencing, we find him ever acting upon the same principle, of patiently enduring every inconvenience growing necessarily out of the service.

In October, 1757, he wrote from Fort Loudoun, (Winchester), to the Speaker of the House of Burgesses :—

"I applied to the Governour for permission to go down and settle my accounts before he leaves the country, and to represent the melancholy situation of our distressed frontiers, which no written narrative can so well describe, as a verbal account to a judicious person inclined to hear. In conversation, the questions resulting from one relation beget others, till matters are perfectly understood; whereas the most explicit writing will be found deficient. But his Honour was pleased to deny his leave, thinking my request unreasonable, and that I had some party of pleasure in view."

In writing to the Governour he said :

"It was not to enjoy a party of pleasure, that I wanted leave of absence. I have been indulged with few of those winter or summer."

About this period, Colonel Washington's health became bad. By the urgent advice of Dr. Craik he left the army, and retired to Mount Vernon, where he was reduced so low by dysentery and fever, that it was more than four months before he was able to resume his command.

He was not willing however to be idle, as will appear from the following letter, written to the President of the Council, and dated "Mount Vernon, 20th February, 1758:—

"I set out for Williamsburg the day after the date of my letter, but found I was unable to proceed, my fever and pain increasing upon me to a high degree; and the physicians assured me, that I might endanger my life by prosecuting the journey.

"In consequence of that advice, I returned to this place again, and informed your Honour of the reason of my detention, by the post, whom I met on the road, and who, I have since understood, never lodged my letter in the post-office at Fredericksburg, which is the cause of my now writing to the same purport. When I shall be sufficiently able to attempt the journey again, I cannot say; but I shall make no delay after I am in a condition to perform it."

Some short time after this, Colonel Washington resumed his command, and served till the end of the war. During the five years of its continuance, his sufferings and trials were many and great. A more perplexing situation no man ever filled. And strange to say, one of the most fruitful sources of vexation and annoyance to him, was the ill-nature and unkindness of the Governour under whose authority he acted, and

that with the utmost deference and humility. To this the Speaker of the House of Burgesses alludes, in the following language, addressed to Washington, in reference to Dinwiddie's contemplated departure for England.

"We have not yet heard who is to succeed him. God grant it may be somebody better acquainted with the unhappy business we have in hand, and who by his conduct and counsel, may dispel the cloud now hanging over this distressed country. Till that event, I beg, my dear friend, that you will bear, so far as a man of honour ought, the discouragements and slights you have too often met with, and continue to serve your country, as I am convinced you have always hitherto done, in the best manner you can, with the small assistance afforded you."

Thus did he continue to bear his difficulties, and labour unceasingly for the good of his country, till the close of the year 1758, when the war and his service ended together.

Writing to Richard Washington, a friend in London, under date of "Mount Vernon 20th October, 1761," he thus expressed himself in reference to his dress:—

"On the other side is an invoice of clothes, which I beg the favour of you to purchase for me, and to send them by the first ship bound to this river. As they are designed for wearing apparel for myself, I have committed the choice of them to your fancy, having the best opinion of your taste. *I want neither lace nor embroidery. Plain clothes,* with gold or silver buttons, if worn in genteel dress, are all that I desire. I have hitherto had my clothes made by one Charles Lawrence. Whether it be the fault of the tailor, or of the measure sent, I cannot

say, but, certain it is, my clothes have never fitted me well. I therefore leave the choice of the workman to you. I enclose a measure, and, for a further direction, I think it not amiss to add, that my stature is six feet ; otherwise rather slender than corpulent."

During the Revolutionary War, the same spirit of self-denial seems to have attended him. In a letter to the President of Congress, dated New-York, 22d April, 1776, he thus writes :

" I give in to no kind of amusements myself ; and consequently, those about me can have none ; but are confined from morning till evening, hearing and answering the applications and letters of one and another, which will now, I expect, receive a considerable addition, as the business of the northern and eastern departments, if I continue here, must, I suppose, pass through my hands. If these gentlemen (his aids) had the same relaxation from duty as other officers have in their common routine, there would not be so much in it. But, to have the mind always upon the stretch, scarce ever unbent, and no hours for recreation, makes a material odds. Knowing this, and at the same time how inadequate the pay is, I can scarce find inclination to impose the necessary duties of their office upon them. To what I have here said, this further remark may be added, and it is a matter of no small concernment to me, and in its consequences, to the public ; namely, that while the duty is hard and the pay small, it is not to be wondered at, if there should be found a promptness in them to seek preferment, or in me to do justice to them by facilitating their views ; by which means I must lose their aid, when they have it most in their power to assist me."

During the darkest period of the war, he wrote his brother John A. Washington, date, "Camp, near the Falls of Trenton, 18th December, 1776 :

" You can form no idea of the perplexity of my situation. No man, I believe, ever had a greater choice of difficulties, and less means to extricate himself from them. However, under a full persuasion of the justice of our cause, I cannot entertain an idea, that it will finally sink, though it may remain for some time under a cloud."

About eight days after this letter was written, the battle of Trenton was fought; in which Providence once more smiled upon the American cause, and dispelled the heaviest cloud that had ever frowned upon our hopes of freedom. The relief to the Commander-in-Chief was as great as his preceding anxieties had been bitter.

To Doctor John Cochran, Surgeon and Physician General, he wrote from West Point, 16th August, 1779 :—

" I have asked Mrs. Cochran and Mrs. Livingston to dine with me to-morrow; but am I not in honour bound to apprise them of their fare? As I hate deception, even where the imagination only is concerned, I will. It is needless to premise, that my table is large enough to hold the ladies. Of this they had ocular proof yesterday. To say how it is usually covered, is rather more essential; and this shall be the purport of my letter.

" Since our arrival at this happy spot, we have had a ham, sometimes a shoulder of bacon, to grace the head of the table; a piece of roast beef adorns the foot; and a dish of beans, or greens, almost imperceptible, decorates the centre. When the cook has a mind to cut a figure, which I presume will be the case to-morrow, we have

two beef-steak pies, or dishes of crabs, in addition, one on each side of the centre dish, dividing the space and reducing the distance between dish and dish to about six feet, which without them would be near twelve feet apart. Of late he has had the surprising sagacity to discover, that apples will make pies ; and it is a question, if, in the violence of his efforts, we do not get one of apples, instead of having both of beef-steaks. If the ladies can put up with such entertainment, and will submit to partake of it on plates, once tin, but now iron, (not become so by the labour of scouring) I shall be happy to see them, and am, dear Doctor, yours," &c.

To Major-General Greene he wrote, from Headquarters at Morristown, 22d January, 1780 :—

" Appearances and facts must speak for themselves. To these I appeal. I have been at my present quarters since the first day of December, and have not a kitchen to cook a dinner in, although the logs have been put together some considerable time by my own guard. Nor is there a place at this moment, in which a servant can lodge, with the smallest degree of comfort. Eighteen belonging to my family, and all Mrs. Ford's, are crowded together in her kitchen, and scarce one of them able to speak for the colds they have caught.

" I have repeatedly taken notice of this inconvenience, to Major Gibbs, and have as often been told, that boards were not to be had. I acquiesced, and believe you will do me the justice to acknowledge, that it never has been my practice to involve the public in any expense which I could possibly avoid, or derive benefits, which would be inconvenient or prejudicial to others. To share the common lot, and participate the incon-

veniences, which the army, from the peculiarity of our circumstances, are obliged to undergo, has with me, been a fundamental principle ; and while I conceived this to be the case universally, I was perfectly content. That it is not so, I appeal to your own observation ; though I never intended to make the remark, nor should I have done it, but for the question which involuntarily drew from me the answer, which has become the subject of your letter.

"Equally opposed is it to my wishes and expectation, that you should be troubled in matters respecting my accommodation, further than to give the necessary orders, and furnish materials, without which orders are nugatory. From what you have said, I am fully satisfied that the persons to whom you entrusted the execution of the business are alone to blame ; for certain I am, they might by attention have obtained, equally with others, as many boards as would have answered my purposes long ere this. Far, very far is it from me, to censure any measure you have adopted for your own accommodation, or for the more immediate convenience of Mrs. Greene. At all times I think you are entitled to as good, as circumstances will afford, and in the present condition of your lady, I conceive that no delay could be admitted. I should therefore, with great willingness, have made my convenience yield to hers, if the point had lain there, being very sincerely, your obedient and affectionate servant," &c.

In regard to the simplicity of his dress the following anecdote will serve for illustration :—

"One day, Colonel Meade, a valued friend of Washington, was met by Mr. Custis, the then youthful grand-

son of Mrs. Washington ; Colonel Meade inquired if he should find the General at the house, or if he was out on the farm. Mr. Custis not knowing Colonel Meade, replied that the General was out ; and giving directions as to the part of the farm on which he would probably be found, added, “ You will meet, sir, with an old gentleman, riding alone, in plain drab clothes, a broad brimmed white hat, a hickory switch in his hand, and carrying an umbrella, with a long staff, which is attached to his saddle-bow,—that, sir, is General Washington ! ” The old friend of Washington replied, “ Thank you, thank you, young gentleman ; I think, if I fall in with the General, I shall be apt to know him.”

CHAPTER XII.

HIS DISINTERESTEDNESS.

In proportion to the many evils confessedly flowing from a *selfish principle*, are the numerous blessings arising from the influence of a large and liberal spirit. While the first aims at private good alone, unmindful of the interests or weal of others ; the last looks upon the general welfare with a generous concern, and seeks to promote the same, by willing efforts, labours, and sacrifices. “No man liveth to himself.” The good of the whole claims a common concern among all the members of the social body ; and he who does not thus respect his relative obligations, violates a sacred law of Heaven, and subjects himself to a condemnation, as severe as the offence is injurious. On the other hand the faithful and conscientious observer of this claim, will find a high reward in the approbation of God ; and, in the gratitude and applause of the virtuous among men.

Of this excellent principle of action, we have a high example in the immortal subject of our present work. Through life, it was one of his distinguishing characteristics. It controlled him alike in war and peace. It

was always one of the most vigorous springs by which his conduct was actuated. It is impossible to study his character without seeing that, in all his labours and sacrifices, he was governed by an unfeigned concern for the happiness of others, without regard to his own personal convenience or comfort.

Let us turn to his writings again for the evidences of this valuable trait.

Writing to John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Delegates, under date of "Mount Vernon, 20th April, 1755," he says :—

"I little expected, when I wrote you last, that I should so soon engage in another campaign ; but in doing it, I may be allowed to claim some merit, if it is considered that the sole motive which invites me to the field, is, *the laudable desire of serving my country, not the gratification of any ambitious or lucrative plans.* This, I flatter myself, will manifestly appear by my going as a volunteer, without expectation of reward, or prospect of obtaining a command, as I am confidently assured it is not in General Braddock's power to give me a commission that I would accept. Perhaps, by many others, the above declarations might be construed into self-applause, which, unwilling to lose, I proclaim myself. But, by you, sir, I expect it will be viewed in a different light, because you have sympathized in my disappointments, and lent your friendly aid to reinstate me in a suitable command ; the recollection of which can never be lost upon a mind that is not insensible of obligations, but always ready to acknowledge them.

"This is the reason why I am so much more unreserved in the expression of my sentiments to you, than

I should be to the world, whose censures and criticisms often place good designs in a bad light. But to be ingenuous, I must confess that I have other intentions in writing this letter ; for if there is any merit in my case, I am unwilling to hazard it among my friends, without this exposition of facts, as they might conceive that some advantageous offers had engaged my services, when, in reality, it is otherwise ; for I expect to be a considerable loser in my private affairs by going."

Soon after Braddock's defeat, and the return of Washington from that disastrous campaign, he wrote to his brother, Augustine Washington, then in Williamsburg, as a member of the Assembly, the date, "Mount Vernon, 2d August, 1755.

"I am not able, were I ever so willing, to meet you in town, for I assure you, it is with some difficulty, and much fatigue, that I visit my plantations ; so much has a sickness of five weeks' continuance reduced me. But so little am I dispirited at what has happened, that I assure you, I am always ready, and always willing, to render my country any services that I am capable of, but never upon the terms I have done ; having suffered much in my private fortune, besides impairing one of the best of constitutions.

"I was employed to go a journey in the winter, when, I believe, few or none would have undertaken it—and what did I get by it ? My expenses borne ! I then was appointed, with trifling pay, to conduct a handful of men to the Ohio. What did I get by that ? Why, after putting myself to a considerable expense, in equipping and providing necessaries for the campaign, I went out, was soundly beaten, and lost them all !—came in,

and had my commission taken from me, or in other words, my command reduced, under pretence of an order from home. I then went out a volunteer with General Braddock, and lost all my horses, and many other things. But this being a voluntary act, I ought not to have mentioned it: nor should I have done it, were it not to show, that I have been upon the losing order ever since I entered the service, which is now nearly two years. So that I think I cannot be blamed, should I, if I leave my family again, endeavour to do it upon such terms, as to prevent my suffering; to gain by it being the least of my expectations."

In accepting the command of the American Army in June, 1775, he delivered the following address, in answer to one from the President of Congress, giving him official notice of his appointment.

"Mr. President,—Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done to me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

"*As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Con-*

gress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge; and that is all I desire."

In reference to the generosity displayed in the above address, John Adams wrote to Mr. Gerry, a few days after the event :—

"There is something charming to me in the conduct of Washington. A gentleman of one of the first fortunes upon the continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease, and hazarding all in the cause of his country! His views are noble and *disinterested*. He declared, when he accepted the mighty trust that he would lay before us an exact account of his expenses, and not accept a shilling for pay."

In a letter, dated Valley Forge, 10th April, 1778, and written to the President of Congress, in reference to a previous suggestion concerning a better provision for the officers of the army, he says :

"It may be said by some, sir, that my wish to see the officers of this army upon a more respectable establishment, is the cause of my solicitude, and carries me too far. To such I can declare, that my anxiety proceeds from the causes above-mentioned. Personally, as an officer, I have no interest in the decision of Congress, because I have declared, and I now repeat it that I never will receive the smallest benefit from the half-pay establishment; * but as a man who fights un-

* Washington could plead for others, while he would receive nothing for himself.

der the weight of a proscription, and as a citizen who wishes to see the liberties of his country established upon a permanent foundation, and whose property depends upon the success of our arms, I am deeply interested."

The following letter was written by him to Lund Washington, from West Point, 17th August, 1779.

"Sir,

"Sometime ago you applied to me to know, if you should receive payment of General M——'s bonds, and of the bond due from the deceased Mr. M——'s estate; and you were, after animadverting a little upon the subject, authorized to do so. Of course, I presume the money has been received. I have since considered the matter in every point of view in which my judgment enables me to place it, and am resolved to receive no more old debts, (such I mean as were contracted and ought to have been paid before the war,) at the present nominal value of the money, unless compelled to do it, or it is the practice of others to do it. Neither justice, reason, nor policy require it. The law undoubtedly was well designed. It was intended to stamp a value upon, and to give a free circulation to, the paper bills of credit; but it never was nor could have been intended to make a man take a shilling or six-pence in the pound, for a just debt, which his debtor is well able to pay, and thereby involve himself in ruin. I am willing now, as ever I was, to take paper money for every kind of debt, and at its present depreciated value, for those debts which have been contracted since the money became so; but I will not, in future, receive the nominal sum for such old debts as come under the above description, except as before specified.

"The fear of injuring, by any example of mine, the credit of our paper currency, if I attempted to discriminate between the real and the nominal value of paper money, has already sunk for me a large sum, if the bonds before mentioned are paid off; the advantage taken in doing which, no man of honour, or common honesty, can reconcile to his own feelings or conscience; not as respects me do I mean, but transactions of this kind generally. The thing which induces me to mention the matter to you at present is, the circumstance you have related respecting the wages of Roberts, which you say, according to his demands, will amount to upwards of two thousand pounds, and come to as much for the service of a common miller for one year only, as I shall get for six hundred acres of land sold to M — in the best of times and in the most valuable part of Virginia, that ought to have been paid for before the money began to depreciate; nay, years before the war. This is such a manifest abuse of reason and justice, that no arguments can reconcile it to common sense or common honesty. Instead of appealing to me, who have not the means of information, or knowledge of common usage and practice in matters of this kind in the State, or the laws that govern there, I wish you would consult men of honour, honesty, and firm attachment to the cause, and govern yourself by their advice, or by their conduct. If it be customary with others to receive money in this way, that is, six-pence or one shilling in the pound for old debts; if it is thought to be promotive of the great cause we embarked in for individuals to do so, thereby ruining themselves, whilst others are reaping the benefit of such distress; if the law impo-

ses this, and it is thought right to submit, I will not say aught against it, nor oppose another word to it. No man has gone, and no man will go further to serve the public than myself. If sacrificing my whole estate would effect any valuable purpose, I would not hesitate one moment in doing it. But my submitting in matters of this kind, unless the same is done by others, is no more than a drop in the bucket. In fact, it is not serving the public, but enriching individuals, and countenancing dishonesty ; for sure I am, that no honest man would attempt to pay twenty shillings with one, or perhaps half of one. In a word, I had rather make a present of the bonds, than receive payment of them in so shameful a way. I am," &c.

He wrote to the same, 30th April, 1781 :

"I am very sorry to hear of your loss. I am a little sorry to hear of my own ; but that which gives me most concern is, that you should go on board the enemy's vessels, and furnish them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my house and laid the plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshments to them with a view to prevent a conflagration.

* * * * * *

I have no doubt of the enemy's intention to prosecute the plundering plan they have begun ; and unless a stop can be put to it, by the arrival of a superior naval force, I have as little doubt of its ending in the loss of all my

negroes, and in the destruction of my houses ; but I am prepared for the event ; under the prospect of which, if you could deposit in a place of safety the most valuable and least bulky articles, it might be consistent with policy and prudence, and a means of preserving them hereafter. Such and so many things as are necessary for common and present use must be retained, and must run their chance through the fiery trial of this summer. I am sincerely yours."

These various extracts need no comment. They all bespeak a mind, duly estimating the ordinary benefits and blessings of life, and yet able to forget their value, when duty required the sacrifice ; yea, rising superior to the love of them, in his higher regard for the interests and prosperity of his country.

CHAPTER XIII.

HIS HUMANITY.

THAT a portion of our race are distinguished by a humane and benevolent disposition, whilst others are utter strangers thereto, may be confidently affirmed. There is, indeed, in the most of men, a sympathy with their fellow-creatures in distress; but it is often very inactive and inefficient, producing little or no valuable fruit in the life. It seldom goes beyond a slight momentary excitement, which soon dies away, leaving behind it no practical evidence of its purity or its power. In some minds, however, there is a higher and more excellent specimen of this virtue. In these it has a purer source. And it is therefore far more energetic in operation, and more noble in its achievements. Such persons are not contented with mere *feeling*, they hold themselves bound by sacred obligations, *to act*, and if necessary to suffer too, in behalf of their fellow-men. Their sensibility is not repressed by the chilling calculations of a selfish mind, or their generous purposes turned aside by suggestions of danger and detriment, attending too much activity, in benevolent undertakings. True love is never so easily discouraged. It is in its nature active and

self-sacrificing—willing to encounter difficulties, and prosecute its designs of mercy, through frowning obstacles, amidst delays, reproaches, and even the ingratitude of its objects. Whilst an ordinary humanity thus distinguishes some, and a purer flame of benevolence glows in the bosoms of others, there is a third class, of whom we are compelled to believe, that they know nothing whatever of this amiable affection. Were it convenient to name living examples of a hard and unfeeling heart, it would be but a painful and invidious task. We may, however, freely refer to individuals of by-gone ages, who owe their chief celebrity to a monstrous inhumanity of temper and barbarity of conduct ; among which must especially be numbered such men as Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, Danton, and Robespierre. These were doubtless perfect strangers to the faintest emotion of benevolent affection. The thought of kindness never visited their bosoms—the language thereof never fell from their lips, nor was a solitary page of their lives ever brightened by its deeds. They found pleasure only in working evil to their fellow-men—their delight was in a rage for human blood. Instead of sympathizing in the sufferings of the wretched, the groans and cries of such were as grateful to their callous souls, as are the songs of the happy to the hearts of the humane.

We claim for the father of our country a large share of the virtue in question. Of this the most pleasing evidence will be found in his writings—which furnish, in reference to the various traits of his finished character, a mirror of unsurpassed transparency and fidelity.

In a skirmish with a small party of French troops, near the Great Meadows, in May, 1754, Washington

took a number of prisoners, among whom were Monsieur La Force and Major Drouillon. Writing to Gouvernor Dinwiddie, he mentions these gentlemen, and says:—

“They beg to be recommended to your notice, and I have promised that they shall meet with all the favour due to prisoners of war. I have shown all the respect I could to them here, and have given them some necessary clothing, by which I have disfurnished myself; for having brought no more than two or three shirts from Will’s Creek, that we might be light, I was ill provided to supply them. I am,” &c.

About two years after this, he wrote to the same, under date of Winchester, 22d April, 1756:—

“This encloses several letters, and the minutes of a council of war, which was held upon the receipt of them. Your Honour may see to what unhappy straits the distressed inhabitants and myself are reduced. I am too little acquainted, sir, with pathetic language to attempt a description of the people’s distresses, though I have a generous soul, sensible of wrongs, and swelling for redress. But what can I do? I see their situation, know their danger, and participate in their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief, than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the Assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants that are now in forts, must unavoidably fall, while the remainder are flying before the barbarous foe. In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuse cast upon the officers in general, which is reflecting upon me in particular, for suffering misconduct of

such extraordinary kinds, and the distant prospect, if any, of gaining honour and reputation in the service,—cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission, and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command from which I never expect to reap either honour or benefit; but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here !

“The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people’s ease.”

Two days after the above he wrote to the same :—

“Not an hour, nay scarcely a minute, passes, that does not produce fresh alarms and melancholy accounts. Nor is it possible to give the people the necessary assistance for their defence, on account of the small number of men we have, or that are likely to be here for some time. The inhabitants are removing daily, and in a short time will leave this country as desolate as Hampshire, where scarce a family lives. Three families were murdered the night before last, at the distance of less than twelve miles from this place ; and every day we have accounts of such cruelties and barbarities, as are shocking to human nature. It is not possible to conceive the situation and danger of this miserable country. Such numbers of French and Indians are all around,

that no road is safe ; and here we know not the hour when we may be attacked."

Three days after he wrote to the same again.

" The inhabitants, who are now in forts, are greatly distressed for the want of ammunition and provision, and are incessantly importuning me for both ; neither of which, have I at this place, [Winchester,] to spare. And if I had, I should be much embarrassed to know how to act, as I could not be safe in delivering them without your orders ; but to hear the cries of the hungry, who have fled for refuge to these places, with nothing more than they carried on their backs, is exceedingly moving. I hope, therefore, that you will give directions concerning this matter."

In a letter to the same, dated Fort Loudoun, Winchester, 27th August, 1757, we find the following expression of his humane sensibilities.

" As you were pleased to leave it to my discretion to punish or pardon the criminals, I have resolved on the latter, since I find example of so little weight, and since those poor unhappy criminals have undergone no small pain of body and mind, in a dark prison, closely ironed."

To General Gage, of the British Army, he wrote, at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, under date of Cambridge, 11th of August, 1775 :

" I understand that the officers engaged in the cause of liberty and their country, who, by the fortune of war, have fallen into your hands, have been thrown, indiscriminately, into a common jail appropriated for felons ; that no consideration has been had for those of the most respectable rank, when languishing with wounds and

sickness ; and that some have even been amputated in this unworthy condition.

"Let your opinion, sir, of the principle which actuates them be what it may, they suppose that they act from the noblest of all principles, a love of freedom and their country. But political principles, I conceive, are foreign to this point. The obligations arising from the rights of humanity and claims of rank, are universally binding and extensive, except in case of retaliation. These, I should have hoped, would have dictated a more tender treatment of those individuals, whom chance, or war, had put in your power. Nor can I forbear suggesting its fatal tendency to widen that unhappy breach, which you, and those ministers under whom you act, have so repeatedly declared your wish is to see forever closed.

"My duty now makes it necessary to apprise you, that, for the future, I shall regulate all my conduct towards those gentlemen, who are or may be in our possession, exactly by the rule you shall observe towards those of ours now in your custody.

"If severity and hardship mark the line of your conduct, painful as it may be to me, your prisoners will feel its effects. But if kindness and humanity are shown to ours, I shall, with pleasure, consider those in our hands only as unfortunate ; and they shall receive from me that treatment to which the unfortunate are ever entitled."

When Colonel Arnold was about to march against Quebec, General Washington gave him "Instructions," (before referred to,) for the regulation of his conduct in the management of that delicate and arduous enterprise. Among other instructions we find the following :

"If Lord Chatham's son should be in Canada, and in

any way should fall into your power, you are enjoined to treat him with all possible deference and respect. You cannot err in paying too much honour to the son of so illustrious a character, and so true a friend to America. Any other prisoners, who may fall into your hands, you will treat with as much *humanity and kindness*, as may be consistent with your own safety and the public interest. Be very particular in restraining, not only your own troops, but the Indians, from all acts of cruelty and insult, which will disgrace the American arms, and irritate our fellow-subjects against us."

To the President of Congress, he wrote from Cambridge, 7th December, 1775 :

‘ Sir,

“ I wrote to you the 4th instant, by express, to which I beg you will be referred. My fears that Broughton and Selman, would not effect any good purpose, were too well founded. They are returned, and brought with them three of the principal inhabitants from the island of St. John’s, (in the gulf of St. Lawrence.) Mr. Callbeck, as President of the Council, acted as Governour. They brought the Governour’s Commission and the Province Seal. As the captains (Broughton and Selman) acted without any warrant for such conduct, I have thought it but justice to discharge these gentlemen, whose families were left in the utmost distress.”

The Editor of Washington’s Writings, has the following note on the above letter :

“ Broughton and Selman commanded the two armed vessels heretofore mentioned, that had been despatched by Washington, in compliance with an order of Congress, to intercept in the river St. Lawrence, two brigans

tines, which, it had been understood, were to sail from England to Quebec, laden with arms and ammunition, and without convoy. After a cruise of several days, the American captains discovered no such vessels; but they committed a very unjustifiable act in making a descent on the island of St. John's, pillaging the defenceless inhabitants, and bringing away some of them prisoners. The gentlemen thus brought off, among whom was Mr. Callbeck, presented a memorial to General Washington, in which they stated, that the Governour's house and other private dwellings were broken open, and robbed of their plate, carpets, curtains, looking-glasses, table-linen, wearing-apparel, and whatever else was of value, and could be taken away. This was done by the captains, of course, without a shadow of license from their instructions, though apparently rather through ignorance of the customary rules of warfare, than by any conscious violation of the laws of equity and honour. Such conduct, however, could not fail to excite the indignation of the Commander-in-chief, and he released the captives immediately, treating them with all possible kindness and respect. Orders were given for restoring the goods, which had been pillaged, and from the following note, written by Mr. Callbeck, it may be presumed that he at least was satisfied."

"I should ill deserve the generous treatment, which your Excellency has been pleased to show me, had I not gratitude to acknowledge so great a favour. I cannot ascribe any part of it to my own merit, but must impute the whole to the *philanthropy and humane disposition* that so truly characterize General Washington.

Be so obliging, therefore, as to accept the only return in my power, that of my most grateful thanks.

On the evacuation of Boston by the British army, in March, 1776, General Washington issued a proclamation, containing, among other injunctions to his troops, the following :

“ All officers and soldiers are hereby ordered to live in the strictest peace and amity with the inhabitants ; (of Boston,) and no inhabitant, or other person, employed in his lawful business in the town, is to be molested in his person or property, on any pretence whatever.

“ If any officer or soldier shall presume to strike, imprison, or otherwise ill-treat, any of the inhabitants, he may depend on being punished with the utmost severity ; and if any officer or soldier shall receive any insult from any of the inhabitants, he is to seek redress in a legal way, and no other.”

In the following August, he thus addressed from the city of New-York, the New-York Convention ;

“ Gentlemen,

“ I am favoured with yours of the 23d, acquainting me with a report now circulating, ‘ that if the American army should be obliged to retreat from this city, any individual may set it on fire.’ I can assure you, gentlemen, that this report is not founded upon the least authority from me ; on the contrary, I am so sensible of the value of such a city, and the consequences of its destruction to many worthy citizens and their families, that nothing but the last necessity, and that, such as should justify me to the whole world, would induce me to give orders to that purpose.

* * * * *

"As my views, with regard to the removal of the women and chil dern, have happily coincided with your sentiments, and a committee has been appointed to carry them into execution, I submit it to your judgment, whether it would not be proper for the Committee to meet immediately in this city, and give notice of their attendance on this business. There are many who anxiously wish to remove, but have not the means."

In January, 1777, he wrote to Lord Howe, the British Commander, expostulating with him on his treatment of American prisoners :

"I am sorry that I am under the disagreeable necessity of troubling your Lordship with a letter, almost wholly on the subject of the cruel treatment which our officers and men, in the naval department, who are unhappy enough to fall into your hands, receive on board the prison-ships in the harbour of New-York.

* * * * *

"From the opinion I have ever been taught to entertain of your Lordship's humanity, I will not suppose that you are privy to proceedings of so cruel and unjustifiable a nature; and I hope that, upon making the proper inquiry, you will have the matter so regulated, that the unhappy persons whose lot is captivity, may not in future, have the miseries of cold, disease, and famine, added to their other misfortunes. You may call us rebels, and say that we deserve no better treatment; but remember, my Lord that, supposing us rebels, we still have feelings equally as keen and sensible as loyalists, and will, if forced to it, most assuredly retaliate upon those, upon whom we look as the unjust invaders of our rights, liberties, and pro-

perties. I should not have said thus much, but my injured countrymen have long called upon me to endeavour to obtain a redress of their grievances; and I should think myself as culpable as those who inflict such severities upon them, were I to continue silent."

Passing over other proofs, equally strong, of the sensibility with which the Commander-in-chief sympathized in the distresses of his friends, and even of his enemies, we come to the consideration of two occurrences of unusual interest, to which the Revolutionary War gave birth, and on which have been founded charges against his humanity, which some may still be disposed to regard as well supported. The allusion is to the cases of Major André and Captain Asgill, both distinguished in the British Army, for their high respectability and good conduct.

In regard to the first of these individuals, his history is so interwoven with the memorable apostacy and aggravated treason of Benedict Arnold, that the same is familiar, in its material features at least, to the most of our countrymen. It is known that he was a Major by commission and Adjutant-General to the British Army—that he was a brave officer, and an accomplished man; and that, after an interview with Arnold, held within the American lines, in reference to the surrender of West Point, he was, on his return to New-York, taken prisoner by three of our soldiers; soon after which he was tried by a court-martial, condemned, and hung as a spy.

The propriety of treating Major André as a spy, was warmly contested at the time, by his friends in the Brit-

ish army. They maintained that he went under the protection of a flag, to meet General Arnold without the American lines; and that his being within those lines was accidental, and against his inclination; the persuasion of Arnold having effected it. General Washington, therefore, was accused of injustice and cruelty, in signing the death-warrant of a man so respectable as Major André, and who was more unfortunate than guilty. Whatever impression these charges may have made in their day, upon the humane and sympathetic, whether in England or in this country, we doubt not, but that time and reflection have dissipated any unfavourable thoughts which may once have existed. A brief account of the circumstances will, notwithstanding, be given here, as supplied us by the most authentic documents, in order to evince, that no alternative was left, from the nature of the case, but the rigid exercise of justice.

The following letter, announcing the perfidy of Arnold, and the capture of Major André, was written by Gen. Washington to the President of Congress.

“ ROBINSON’S HOUSE, September 26th, 1780.

“Sir,

“I have the honour to inform Congress, that I arrived here yesterday, about twelve o’clock, on my return from Hartford. Some hours previous to my arrival, Major-General Arnold went from his quarters, which were at this place, as it was supposed over the river to the garrison at West Point; whither I proceeded myself, in order to visit the post. I found General Arnold had not been there during the day, and on my return to his quarters he was still absent. In the mean time a packet had arrived from Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, announc-

ing the capture of a John Anderson, who was endeavouring to go to New-York, with several interesting and important papers, all in the handwriting of General Arnold. This was also accompanied with a letter from the prisoner, avowing himself to be Major John André, Adjutant-General to the British army, relating the manner of his capture, and endeavouring to show that he did not come under the description of a spy. From the several circumstances, and information that the General seemed to be thrown into some degree of agitation on receiving a letter, a little time before he went down from his quarters, I was led to conclude immediately, that he had heard of Major André's captivity, and that he would if possible escape to the enemy ; and I accordingly took such measures, as appeared the most probable to apprehend him. But he had embarked in a barge, and proceeded down the river under a flag to the Vulture sloop-of-war, which lay some miles below Stony and Verplank's Points. After he got on board he wrote to me a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy.

“ Major André is not arrived yet, but I hope he is secure, and that he will be here to-day. I have been and am taking proper precautions, which I trust will prove effectual, to prevent the important consequences, which this conduct, on the part of General Arnold, was intended to produce. I do not know the party that took Major André, but it is said to have consisted only of militia, who acted in such a manner, as does them the highest honour, and proves them to be men of great virtue. They were offered, I am informed, a large sum of money for his release, and as many goods as they would demand, but without any effect.”

Major André was taken prisoner, near Tarrytown, on the morning of the 23d of September, and carried back to the nearest American post at North-Castle. On the 24th he wrote the following letter to General Washington :

“ Sir,

“ What I have as yet said concerning myself, was in the justifiable attempt to be extricated ; I am too little accustomed to duplicity to have succeeded.

“ I beg your Excellency will be persuaded, that no alteration in the temper of my mind, or apprehension for my safety, induces me to take the step of addressing you, but that it is to rescue myself from an imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self-interest ; a conduct incompatible with the principles that actuate me, as well as with my condition in life.

“ It is to vindicate my fame that I speak, and not to solicit security.

“ The person in your possession is Major John André, Adjutant-General to the British army.

“ The influence of one Commander in the army of his adversary, is an advantage taken in war. A correspondence for this purpose I held ; as confidential, (in the present instance,) with his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

“ To favour it, I agreed to meet upon ground not within the posts of either army, a person who was to give me intelligence ; I came up in the Vulture man-of-war for this effect, and was fetched by a boat from the ship to the beach. Being there, I was told that the approach of day would prevent my return, and that I must

be concealed until the next night. I was in my regiments, and had fairly risked my person.

Against my stipulation, my intention, and without my knowledge before hand, I was conducted within one of your posts. Your Excellency may conceive my sensation on the occasion, and will imagine how much more must I have been affected by a refusal to reconduct me back the next night, as I had been brought. Thus become a prisoner, I had to concert my escape. I quitted my uniform, and was passed another way in the night, without the American posts, to neutral ground, and informed I was beyond all armed parties and left to press for New-York. I was taken at Tarrytown by some volunteers.

“Thus, as I have had the honour to relate, was I betrayed (being Adjutant-General of the British army) into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise, within your posts.

“Having avowed myself a British officer, I have nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true, on the honour of an officer and a gentleman.

“The request I have to make to your Excellency, and I am conscious I address myself well, is, that in any rigour policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark, that though unfortunate I am branded with nothing dishonourable, as no motive could be mine but the service of my king, and as I was, involuntarily, an impostor.

“Another request is, that I may be permitted to write an open letter to Sir Henry Clinton, and another to a friend for clothes and linen.

“I take the liberty to mention the condition of some

gentlemen at Charlestown, who, being either on parole, or under protection, were engaged in a conspiracy against us. Though their situation is not similar, they are objects who may be set in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive might affect.

“It is no less, sir, in a confidence of the generosity of your mind, than on account of your superior station, that I have chosen to importune you with this letter. I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your Excellency’s most obedient humble servant.

“JOHN ANDRE, Adjutant-General.”

It was on the morning of the 25th of September, that Arnold became apprized of the capture of André. As soon as it was known to him, he left his house in great haste, entered a boat, and in a short time reached the Vulture man-of-war in safety. From this vessel he wrote the following letter to Gen. Washington dated the same day.

“Sir, The heart which is conscious of its own rectitude, cannot attempt to palliate a step, which the world may censure as wrong; I have ever acted from a principle of love to my country, since the commencement of the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and the Colonies; the same principle of love to my country actuates my present conduct, however it may appear inconsistent to the world, who very seldom judge right of any man’s actions.

“I have no favour to ask for myself. I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it; but from the *known humanity of your Excellency*, I am induced to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold from every insult and injury that a mistaken vengeance of

my country may expose her to. It ought to fall only on me: she is as good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong. I beg she may be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to come to me, as she may choose; from your Excellency, I have no fears on her account, but she may suffer from the mistaken fury of the country.

* * * * *

On the next day, the 26th, André was brought to West Point, under an escort of dragoons. He remained there till the 28th. In the mean time, General Washington wrote to General Greene, who was at Tappan, the head-quarters of the army, under date of "Robinson's House, 27th September, 1780:—

" Dear sir,

" I have concluded to send to camp to-morrow, Major André of the British army, and Mr. Joshua H.^o Smith, who has had a great hand in carrying on the business between him and Arnold. They will be under an escort of horse, and I wish you to have separate houses in camp ready for their reception, in which they may be kept perfectly secure; and also strong, trusty guards, trebly officered, that a part may be constantly in the room with them. They have not been permitted to be together, and must be still kept apart. I would wish the room for Mr. André to be a decent one, and that he may be treated with civility; but that he may be so guarded as to preclude a possibility of his escaping, which he will certainly attempt to effect, if it shall seem practicable in the most distant degree. Smith must also be carefully secured, and not treated with asperity. I intend to return to-morrow morning, and hope to have the

pleasure of seeing you in the course of the day. You may keep these several matters secret."

On the 28th Major André was sent to Tappan, and on the next day, the 29th, he sent the following letter, by permission of General Washington, to Sir Henry Clinton. Its date was, "Tappan, 29th September, 1780.

"Sir,

"Your Excellency is doubtless already apprised of the manner in which I was taken, and possibly of the serious light in which my conduct is considered, and the rigorous determination that is impending.

"Under these circumstances, I have obtained General Washington's permission to send you this letter; the object of which is, to remove from your breast any suspicion, that I could imagine I was bound by your Excellency's orders, to expose myself to what has happened. The events of coming within an enemy's posts, and of changing my dress, which led me to my present situation, were contrary to my own intentions, as they were to your orders; and the circuitous route, was imposed, (perhaps unavoidably,) without alternative upon me.

"I am perfectly tranquil in mind, and prepared for any fate, to which an honest zeal for my King's service may have devoted me.

"In addressing myself to your Excellency on this occasion, the force of all my obligations to you, and of the attachment and gratitude I bear you, recurs to me. With all the warmth of my heart, I give you thanks for your Excellency's profuse kindness to me; and I send you the most earnest wishes for your welfare, which a faithful, affectionate, and respectful attendant can frame.

"I have a mother and three sisters, to whom the

value of my commission would be an object, as the loss of Grenada has much affected their income. It is needless to be more explicit on this subject ; I am persuaded of your Excellency's goodness.

"I receive the greatest attention from his Excellency General Washington, and from every person under whose charge I happen to be placed. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful attachment, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"JOHN ANDRE, Adjutant-General."

According to the intimation contained in his letter to General Greene, General Washington returned to Tappan on the 28th, and the next day addressed a letter to the Board of General Officers, appointed to investigate the charges against Major André. The Board was composed of *Fourteen* officers—General Greene being President of the Board. The letter of General Washington was in the following words :—

"TAPPAN, 29th Sept. 1780.

"Gentlemen,

"Major André, Adjutant-General to the British army, will be brought before you for your examination. He came within our lines in the night, on an interview with Major-General Arnold, and in an assumed character, and was taken within our lines in a disguised habit, with a pass, under a feigned name, and with the enclosed papers concealed upon him. After a careful examination, you will be pleased, as speedily as possible, to report a precise state of his case, together with your opinion of the light in which he ought to be considered, and the punishment that ought to be inflicted. The judge-advocate will attend to assist in the examination, who

has sundry other papers relative to this matter, which he will lay before the Board. I have the honour to be," &c.

The Board assembled the same day, and Major André was brought before them. Besides his personal examination, he submitted a short statement of his case in writing. The Paper presented by him was to the following effect :—

" On the 20th of September I left New-York to get on board the Vulture, in order, (as I thought) to meet General Arnold there in the night. No boat, however, came off, and I waited on board until the night of the 21st. During the day, a flag of truce was sent from the Vulture, to complain of the violation of a military rule in the instance of a boat having been decoyed on shore by a flag, and fired upon. The letter was addressed to General Arnold, signed by Captain Sutherland, but written in my hand and countersigned 'J Anderson, secretary.' Its intent was to indicate my presence on board the Vulture. In the night of the 21st, a boat with Mr.—* and two hands came on board, in order to fetch Mr. Anderson on shore, and if too late to bring me back, to lodge me till the next night in a place of safety. I went into the boat, landed, and spoke with Arnold. I got on horseback with him to proceed to [Smith's] house, and in the way passed a guard I did not expect to see, having Sir Henry Clinton's directions not to go within an enemy's post, or to quit my own dress.

" In the morning A. quitted me, having himself made me put the papers I bore between my stockings

* Joshua H. Smith,

and feet. Whilst he did it, he expressed a wish in case of any accident befalling me, that they should be destroyed, which I said of course would be the case, as when I went into the boat I should have them tied about with a string and a stone. Before we parted, some mention had been made of my crossing the river, and going by another route ; but I objected much against it, and thought it was settled that in the way I came, I was also to return.

Mr.—* to my great mortification, persisted in his determination of carrying me by the other route ; and at the decline of the sun, I set out on horseback, passed King's Ferry, and came to Crompond, where a party of militia stopped us, and advised we should remain. In the morning I came with [Smith] as far as within two miles and a half of Pine's Bridge, where he said he must part with me, as the Cow-boys infested the road thenceforward. I was now near thirty miles from Kingsbridge, and left to the chance of passing that space undiscovered. I got to the neighbourhood of Tarrytown, which was far beyond the points described as dangerous, when I was taken by three volunteers, who not satisfied with my pass, rifled me, and, finding papers, made me a prisoner.

“I have omitted mentioning that, when I found myself within an enemy’s posts, I changed my dress.”

Several papers were laid before the Board by the judge-advocate, and shown to Major André, who confessed that they were found on him when he was taken, and said they were concealed in his boot, except the pass. These papers contained information concerning the state of

* Joshua H. Smith.

West Point, and were addressed in Arnold's hand-writing to the Commander-in-chief of the British army.

The Board interrogated Major André about his conception of his coming on shore under the sanction of a flag. He said, "That it was impossible for him to suppose he came on shore under that sanction;" and added, "That if he came on shore under that sanction, he certainly might have returned under it."

Major André having acknowledged the preceding facts, and being asked whether he had any thing to say respecting them, answered—"that he left them to operate with the Board."

The examination being concluded, the prisoner was remanded into custody.

On the same day the Board made the following Report to General Washington:—

"The Board having considered the letter from his Excellency General Washington, respecting Major André, Adjutant-General to the British army—the confession of Major André, and the papers produced to them, Report to his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, the following facts, which appear to them relative to Major André.

"First, That he came on shore from the Vulture sloop of war in the night of the 21st of September instant, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner.

"Secondly, That he changed his dress within our lines; and under a feigned name, and in a disguised habit, passed our works at Stoney and Verplank's Points, the evening of the 22d September instant, and was taken the morning of the 23d of Sept. instant, at Tarrytown,

in a disguised habit, being then on his way to New-York: and when taken, he had in his possession several papers, which contained intelligence for the enemy.

"The Board having maturely considered these facts, do also Report to his Excellency General Washington, that Major André, Adjutant-General to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion, he ought to suffer death."

This Report was signed by the whole Board, of which, as we have mentioned, General Greene was President, the Marquis de La Fayette and the Baron de Steuben, members.

The decision, approved as it was by the Commander-in-chief, was to have been put in execution on the 1st day of October. But the British Commander wishing to have a conference with him, in regard to the justice and propriety of the sentence, the event was postponed until the 2d day of October. On that day, at 12 o'clock, the conference having failed to produce any change in the mind of General Washington, the determination of the court was carried into effect.

On the day first appointed for his execution, Major André wrote the following letter to Gen. Washington:—

"Sir; Buoyed above the terror of death, by the consciousness of a life devoted to honourable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your Excellency, at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected.

"Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce

your excellency, and a military tribunal, to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour.

"Let me hope, sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy, and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your breast, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet. I have the honour to be," &c.

This request was duly considered by the Commander-in-chief and his principal officers; but, taking into view the nature of the offence, the peculiar circumstances attending it, the invariable rules of war, and the usage of nations, Washington could not consistently with his sense of duty, grant an indulgence, which might seem to imply any doubt in his mind of the entire justice of the sentence, however strongly he might be moved by his well known feelings of humanity, and his respect for the character of the sufferer. André was condemned as a spy, and hanged as such, at twelve o'clock on the 2d of October.

The following narrative from the elegant pen of General Hamilton, is here inserted, as giving the fullest and most faithful account of this whole matter, which has ever been submitted to the public. It was written shortly after the events so feelingly recorded by him. He was at this time aid-de-camp to General Washington.

"Since my return from Hartford, my dear friend, my mind has been too little at ease to permit me to write to you sooner. It has been wholly occupied by the incidents, and the tragic consequences, of Arnold's treason. My feelings never were put to so severe a trial. You will no doubt have heard the principal facts, before this

reaches you ; but there are particulars, to which my situation gave me access, that cannot have come to your knowledge from public report, which I am persuaded you will find interesting.

" From several circumstances, the project seems to have originated with Arnold himself, and to have been long premeditated. The first overture is traced back to some time in June last. It was conveyed in a letter to Colonel Robinson, the substance of which was, that the ingratitude he had experienced from his country, concurring with other causes, had entirely changed his principles : that he now only sought to restore himself to the favour of his King, by some signal proof of his repentance ; and would be happy to open a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for that purpose. About this period he made a journey to Connecticut ; on his return from which to Philadelphia, he solicited the command of West Point, alleging that the effects of his wound had disqualified him for the active duties of the field. The sacrifice of this important post was the atonement he intended to make. General Washington hesitated the less to gratify an officer who had rendered such eminent services, as he was convinced the post might be safely trusted to one who had given so many distinguished proofs of his bravery. In the beginning of August, he joined the army, and renewed his application. The enemy, at this juncture, had embarked the greatest part of their force on an expedition to Rhode Island, and our army was in motion, to compel them to relinquish the enterprise, or to attack New-York in its weakened state. The General offered Arnold the left wing of the army, which he declined, on the pretext already mentioned ; but not without visible embarrass-

ment. He certainly might have executed the duties of such a temporary command, and it was expected from his enterprising temper that he would gladly have embraced so splendid an opportunity. But he did not choose to be diverted a moment from his favourite object; probably from an apprehension that some different disposition might have taken place, which would have excluded him. The extreme solicitude he discovered to get possession of the post, would have led to a suspicion of the treachery, had it been possible from his past conduct to have supposed him capable of it.

"The correspondence thus begun, was carried on between Arnold and Major André, Adjutant-General of the British army, in behalf of Sir Henry Clinton, under feigned signatures, and a mercantile disguise. In an intercepted letter of Arnold's, which lately fell into our hands, he proposes an interview, 'to settle the risks and profits of the co-partnership ;' and in the same style of metaphor, intimates an expected augmentation of the garrison, and speaks of it as the means of extending their traffic. It appears by another letter, that André was to have met him on the lines, under the sanction of a flag, in the character of Mr. John Anderson. But some cause or other, not known, prevented this interview.

"The twentieth of last month, Robinson and André went up the river in the Vulture sloop of war. Robinson sent a flag to Arnold, with two letters, one to General Putnam, enclosed in another to himself, requesting an interview with Putnam, or in his absence with Arnold, to adjust some private concerns. The one to General Putnam was evidently meant as a cover to the other,

in case, by accident, the letters should have fallen under the inspection of a third person.

"General Washington crossed the river on his way to Hartford, the day these despatches arrived. Arnold, conceiving he must have heard of the flag, thought it necessary, for the sake of appearances, to submit the letters to him, and ask his opinion of the propriety of complying with the request. The General, with his usual caution, though without the least surmise of the design, dissuaded him from it, and advised him to reply to Robinson, that whatever related to his private affairs must be of a civil nature, and could only properly be addressed to the civil authority. This reference fortunately deranged the plan, and was the first link in the chain of events that led to the detection. The interview could no longer take place in the form of a flag, but was obliged to be managed in a secret manner.

"Arnold employed one Smith to go on board the Vulture the night of the twenty-second, to bring André on shore with a pass for Mr. John Anderson. André came ashore accordingly, and was conducted within a picket of ours to the house of Smith, where Arnold and he remained together in close conference all that night and the day following. At day-light in the morning, the commanding officer at King's Ferry, without the privity of Arnold, moved a couple of pieces of cannon to a point opposite to where the Vulture lay, and obliged her to take a more remote station. This event, or some lurking distrust, made the boatmen refuse to carry the two passengers back, and disconcerted Arnold so much, that by one of those strokes of infatuation which often confound the schemes of men conscious of guilt, he in-

sisted on André's exchanging his uniform for a disguise, and returning in a mode different from that in which he came. André, who had been undesignedly brought within our posts, in the first instance, remonstrated warmly against this new and dangerous expedient. But Arnold persisting in declaring it impossible for him to return as he came, he at length reluctantly yielded to his direction, and consented to change his dress, and take the route he recommended. Smith furnished the disguise, and in the evening passed King's Ferry with him, and proceeded to Crompond, where they stopped the remainder of the night, (at the instance of a militia officer,) to avoid being suspected by him. The next morning they resumed their journey, Smith accompanying André a little beyond Pine's Bridge, where he left him. He had reached Tarrytown, when he was taken up by three militia men, who rushed out of the woods and seized his horse. At this critical moment, his presence of mind forsook him. Instead of producing his pass, which would have extricated him from our parties, and could have done him no harm with his own, he asked the militia men if they were of the upper or lower party, distinctive appellations known among the refugee corps. The militia men replied, they were of the lower party; upon which he told them he was a British officer, and pressed them not to detain him as he was upon urging business. This confession removed all doubt, and it was in vain he afterwards produced his pass. He was instantly forced off to a place of greater security; where, after a careful search, there were found concealed in the feet of his stockings, several papers of importance, delivered to him by Arnold. Among these there were a

plan of the fortifications of West Point, a memorial from the engineer on the attack and defence of the place, returns of the garrison, cannon, and stores, and a copy of the minutes of a council of war held by General Washington a few weeks before. The prisoner at first was inadvertently ordered to Arnold; but on recollection, while still on the way, he was countermanded and sent to Old Salem.

"The papers were enclosed in a letter to General Washington, which having taken a route different from that by which he returned, made a circuit, that afforded leisure for another letter, through an ill-judged delicacy written to Arnold, with information of Anderson's capture, to get to him an hour before General Washington arrived at his quarters; time enough to elude the fate that awaited him. He went down the river in his barge to the Vulture, with such precipitate confusion, that he did not take with him a single paper useful to the enemy. On the first notice of the affair he was pursued, but much too late to be overtaken.

"There was some colour for imagining it was a part of the plan, to betray the General into the hands of the enemy: Arnold was very anxious to ascertain from him the precise day of his return, and the enemy's movements seem to have corresponded to this point. But if it was really the case, it was very injudicious. The success must have depended on surprise; and as the officers at the advanced posts were not in the secret, their measures might have given the alarm, and General Washington taking the command of the post, might have rendered the whole scheme abortive. Arnold, it is true, had so dispersed the garrison, as to have made a

defence difficult, but not impracticable; and the acquisition of West Point was of such magnitude to the enemy, that it would have been unwise to connect with it any other object, however great, which might make the obtaining of it precarious.

"Arnold, a moment before his setting out, went into Mrs. Arnold's apartment, and informed her that some transactions had just come to light which must forever banish him from his country. She fell into a swoon at this declaration, and he left her in it to consult his own safety, till the servants, alarmed by her cries, came to her relief. She remained frantic all day, accusing every one who approached her with an intention to murder her child, (an infant in her arms,) and exhibiting every other mark of the most genuine and agonizing distress. Exhausted by the fatigue and tumult of her spirits, her phrenzy subsided towards evening, and she sunk into all the sadness of affliction. It was impossible not to have been touched with her situation; every thing affecting in female tears, or in the misfortunes of beauty, every thing pathetic in the wounded tenderness of a wife, or in the apprehensive fondness of a mother, and, till I have reason to change the opinion, I will add, every thing amiable in suffering innocence, conspired to make her an object of sympathy to all who were present. She experienced the most delicate attentions, and every friendly office till her departure for Philadelphia.

"André was, without loss of time, conducted to the head-quarters of the army, where he was immediately brought before a Board of General Officers, to prevent all possibility of misrepresentation or cavil on the part of the enemy.

"The Board reported, that he ought to be considered as a spy, and according to the laws and usages of nations, to suffer death, which was executed two days after.*

"Never, perhaps, did any man suffer death with more justice, or deserve it less. The first step he took after his capture, was to write a letter to General Washington, conceived in terms of dignity without insolence, and apology without meanness. The scope of it was to vindicate himself from the imputation of having assumed a mean character, for treacherous or interested purposes ; asserting that he had been involuntarily an impostor ; that contrary to his intention, which was to meet a person for intelligence on neutral ground, he had been betrayed within our posts, and forced into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise ; soliciting only, that to whatever rigour policy might devote him, a decency of treatment might be observed, due to a person who, though unfortunate, had been guilty of nothing dishonourable. His request was granted in its full extent ; for in the whole progress of the affair, he was treated with the most scrupulous delicacy. When brought before the Board of Officers, he met with every mark of indulgence, and was required to answer no interrogatory which would even embarrass his feelings. On his part, while he carefully concealed every thing that might implicate others, he frankly confessed all the facts relating to himself ; and upon his confession, without the trouble of examining a witness, the Board made their report. The members were not more impressed with the candour and

* He was executed on the third day. The sentence was pronounced on the 29th of September, and put in execution on the 2d of October.

firmness, mixed with a becoming sensibility which he displayed, than he was penetrated with their liberality and politeness. He acknowledged the generosity of the behaviour towards him in every respect, but particularly in this, in the strongest terms of manly gratitude. In a conversation with a gentleman who visited him after his trial, he said, he flattered himself he had never been illiberal; but if there were any remains of prejudice in his mind, his present experience must obliterate them.

"In one of the visits I made him, (and I saw him several times during his confinement,) he begged me to be the bearer of a request to the General, for permission to send an open letter to Sir Henry Clinton. 'I foresee my fate,' said he, 'and though I pretend not to play the hero, or to be indifferent about life, yet I am reconciled to what may happen, conscious that misfortune, not guilt, has brought it upon me. There is only one thing that disturbs my tranquillity. Sir Henry Clinton has been too good to me; he has been lavish of his kindness; I am bound to him by too many obligations, and love him too well to bear the thought that he should reproach himself, or others should reproach him, on the supposition of my having conceived myself obliged, by his instructions, to run the risk I did. I would not, for the world, leave a sting in his mind that should embitter his future days.' He could scarce finish the sentence; bursting into tears, in spite of his efforts to suppress them, and with difficulty collected himself enough afterwards to add, 'I wish to be permitted to assure him, I did not act under this impression, but submitted to a necessity.'

imposed upon me, as contrary to my own inclination, as to his orders.' His request was readily complied with, and he wrote the letter annexed, with which I dare say you will be as much pleased as I am, both for the sentiment and diction.

"When his sentence was announced to him, he remarked, that since it was his lot to die, there was still a choice in the mode, which would make a material difference to his feelings; and he would be happy, if possible, to be indulged with a professional death. He made a second application by letter, in concise but persuasive terms. It was thought this indulgence, being incompatible with the customs of war, could not be granted; and it was, therefore, determined, in both cases, to evade an answer, to spare him the sensations, which a certain knowledge of the intended mode would inflict.

"In going to the place of execution, he bowed familiarly as he went along, to all those with whom he had been acquainted in his confinement. A smile of complacency expressed the serene fortitude of his soul. Arrived at the fatal spot, he asked with some emotion, 'Must I then die in this manner?' He was told it had been unavoidable. 'I am reconciled to my fate, (said he,) but not to the mode.' Soon, however recollecting himself, he added, 'It will be but a momentary pang;' and springing upon the cart, performed the last offices to himself, with a composure that excited the admiration and melted the hearts of the beholders. Upon being told the final moment was at hand, and asked if he had any thing to say, he answered, 'Nothing, but to request you will witness to the world, that I die like a brave man.' Among the extraordinary circumstances that attended

him, in the midst of his enemies he died universally regretted, and universally esteemed.

"There was something singularly interesting in the character and fortunes of André. To an excellent understanding well improved by education and travel, he united a peculiar elegance of mind and manners, and the advantage of a pleasing person. It is said, he possessed a pretty taste for the fine arts, and had himself attained some proficiency in poetry, in music, and painting. His knowledge appeared without ostentation, and embellished by a diffidence that rarely accompanies so many talents and accomplishments, which left you to suppose more than appeared.

"His sentiments were elevated, and inspired esteem; they had a softness that conciliated affection. His elocution was handsome; his address easy, polite, and insinuating. By his merit, he had acquired the unlimited confidence of his General, and was making a rapid progress in military rank and reputation. But in the height of his career, flushed with new hopes from the execution of a project the most beneficial to his party that could be devised, he was at once precipitated from the summit of prosperity, and saw all the expectations of his ambition blasted, and himself ruined.

"The character I have given of him, is drawn partly from what I saw of him myself, and partly from information. I am aware, that a man of real merit is never seen in so favourable a light as through the medium of adversity. The clouds that surround him are shades that set off his good qualities. Misfortune cuts down the little vanities, that in prosperous times serve as so many spots in his virtues, and gives a tone of humility that

makes his worth more amiable. His spectators, who enjoy a happier lot, are less prone to detract from it through envy: and are more disposed by compassion to give him the credit he deserves, and perhaps even to magnify it.

“ I speak not of André’s conduct in this affair as a philosopher, but as a man of the world. The authorized maxims and practices of war, are the satires of human nature. They countenance almost every species of seduction, as well as violence; and the General who can make most traitors in the army of his adversary, is frequently most applauded. On this scale we acquit André, while we would not but condemn him if we were to examine his conduct by the sober rules of philosophy and moral rectitude. It is, however, a blemish on his fame, that he once intended to prostitute a flag;—about this, a man of nice honour ought to have had a scruple; but the temptation was great. Let his misfortunes cast a veil over his error.

“ Several letters from Sir Henry Clinton, and others, were received in the course of the affair, feebly attempting to prove that André came out under the protection of a flag, with a passport from a general-officer in actual service; and, consequently, could not be justly detained. Clinton sent a deputation, composed of Lieutenant-General Robinson, Mr. Elliot, and Mr. William Smith, to represent, as he said, the true state of Major André’s case. General Greene met Robinson, and had a conversation with him, in which he reiterated the pretence of a flag, urged André’s release as a personal favour to Sir Henry Clinton, and offered any friend of ours in their power in exchange. Nothing could have been more frivolous than the plea which was used. ‘The fact was, that besides

the time, manner, object of the interview, change of dress, and other circumstances, there was not a single formality customary with flags ; and the passport was not to Major André but to Mr. Anderson. But had there been, on the contrary, all the formalities, it would be an abuse of language to say, that the sanction of a flag, for currupting an officer to betray his trust, ought to be respected. So unjustifiable a purpose would not only destroy its validity, but make it an aggravation.

“André himself has answered the argument, by ridiculing and exploding the idea, in his examination before the Board of Officers. It was a weakness to urge it.

“There was, in truth, no way of saving him. Arnold or he must have been the victim ; the former was out of our power.

“It was by some suspected, Arnold had taken his measures in such a manner, that if the interview had been discovered in the act, it might have been in his power to sacrifice André to his own security. This surmise of double treachery, made them imagine Clinton would give up Arnold for André ; and a gentleman took occasion to suggest the expedient to the latter, as a thing that might be proposed by him. He declined it. The moment he had been capable of so much frailty, I should have ceased to esteem him.”

Extracts from a few of the letters written by Washington, in reference to this event, will be here added, as in some measure evincing his views and feelings on the subject.

He wrote to Count De Rochambeau 10th October, 1780 :

“Your Excellency will have heard of the execution

of the British Adjutant-General. 'The circumstances, under which he was taken, justified it, and policy required a sacrifice ; but as he was more unfortunate than criminal, and, as there was much in his character to interest, while we yielded to the necessity of rigour, we could not lament it.'

"Writing to Col. John Laurens, October 13th, he says :—

"In no instance since the commencement of the war, has the interposition of Providence appeared more remarkably conspicuous, than in the rescue of the post and garrison of West Point, from Arnold's villainous perfidy. How far he meant to involve me in the catastrophe of this place, does not appear from any indubitable evidence ; and I am rather inclined to think he did not wish to hazard the more important object of his treachery, by attempting to combine two events, the less of which might have marred the greater. A combination of extraordinary circumstances, an unaccountable deprivation of presence of mind in a man of the first abilities, and the virtue of three militia men, threw the Adjutant-General of the British forces, with full proof of Arnold's treachery, into our hands. But for the egregious folly, or the bewildered conception of Lieutenant-Colonel —— who seemed lost in astonishment, and not to know what he was doing, I should undoubtedly have got Arnold. André has met his fate, and with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and gallant officer, but I am mistaken if, at this time, 'Arnold is not undergoing the torment of a mental hell.' He wants feeling," &c,

In a letter to President Reed, written on the 18th of October, he says :—

" Arnold's conduct is so villainously perfidious, that there are no terms which can describe the baseness of his heart. That overruling Providence, which has so often and so remarkably interposed in our favour, never manifested itself more conspicuously than in the timely discovery of his horrid design of surrendering the post and garrison of West Point, into the hands of the enemy. I confine my remarks to this single act of perfidy, for I am far from thinking he intended to hazard a defeat of this important object, by combining another with it, although there were circumstances which led to a contrary belief. The confidence and folly which have marked the subsequent conduct of this man, are of a piece with his villainy ; and all three are perfect in their kind. The interest you take in my supposed escape, and the manner in which you speak of it, claim my thanks as much as if he had really intended to involve my fate with that of the garrison, and I consider it a fresh instance of your affectionate regard for me."

Such were the circumstances of this most distressing case. In them we have the grounds of Major André's condemnation, and the means of forming a judgment in relation to the propriety of his execution. Major André, was, in the first place, cordially engaged with the rest of his countrymen, in the inhuman undertaking, of enslaving the people of these United States. And at this time, he was zealously labouring to effect an object, which would have been most serious in its results to the American cause, and in its accomplishment involved the necessity of concealment, falsehood, and treachery, in

those, through whom it should be effected. He was apprehended under circumstances that rendered him *justly* liable to death, according to the laws and usages of all nations. He did not indeed intend to place himself in that situation. This precaution, reflects credit on his prudence, but does not diminish the criminality of his conduct. He did well in meditating his self-preservation. He ought, upon the principles of sound morality, to have been as careful not to injure others. Did he think himself engaged in a just war? Then he differed with some of the wisest and best men of his own country. No! personal advantage, honour and glory were before him, and it was the inordinate pursuit of these that blinded his judgment, and at length brought him into the snare which a wonder-working Providence spread for him, and in which he was finally taken.

There cannot be a doubt but that the motives of humanity strongly plead for him. But there are critical times in the affairs of nations, as of individuals, when it is necessary to have a regard to private interests, when there is no sacrifice of principle. In the case under consideration there were great national interests at stake. It was necessary that a crime so monstrous should receive a decisive proof of public detestation, and be so visited by a severe penalty that similar offences might be prevented by the checks of a salutary terror. Indulgence would have been a kindness to the individual. But it might have been a dreadful unkindness to multitudes. The general welfare might have been sacrificed to private good.

The complaints of British writers against the humanity of Washington, founded on this act of rigid

justice, cannot be sustained. The merits of André's case were fairly canvassed by a Board of fourteen General Officers, who were unanimous in pronouncing him a spy, and worthy of death. General Washington merely confirmed their sentence, and is no more liable to censure, than the Judge who acquiesces in the decision of a Jury, and pronounces sentence of death on a criminal, in conformity with their verdict. Could he, indeed, have discreetly incurred the responsibility of acting in opposition to the judgment of so intelligent and respectable a body of men as those composing the board? Could he have indulged his benevolent sympathies in behalf of the prisoner, when the dictates of justice and the interests of his country called on him to take the side of a painful but necessary rigor? We dismiss this subject with the single remark, that severity may sometimes be a virtue, as contributing in its effects to the good of the whole. On that principle the Divine Being often acts, confessedly swayed by a perfect benevolence in so doing.

Captain Asgill, whose case we have next to consider, was a young British officer, who had been taken prisoner at York-Town, and sent to York, in Pennsylvania, with others of Lord Cornwallis' troops. He was the only son of Sir Charles Asgill, and a highly amiable youth. In consequence of a horrid murder of an American officer, General Washington, with the advice of his general officers, had resolved on retaliation. And the lot fell upon this young man. As it was known to be the unchangeable purpose of the Commander-in-chief to carry this decision into execution, he was charged with cruelty by British writers, and that in terms of bitter severity. One of them, remarking on the letter of

Washington to Sir Guy Carleton, in which he repeats his firm determination to retaliate in the case of Captain Asgill, says, that it is "stern and even savage." There were other reflections cast upon his conduct, more courtly indeed than those alluded to, but clearly impeaching his humanity. The following letters, mainly from his own pen, will fully explain the origin and nature of the case, with the motives which controlled and directed his course throughout.

On the 19th of April, 1782, he wrote from headquarters, at Newburgh, to the General and Field Officers of the Army, in the following terms:—

"The Commander-in-chief submits the papers accompanying this, containing the case of Captain Joshua Huddy, lately hanged within the county of Monmouth, in New-Jersey State, by a party of the enemy, to the consideration of the general officers of brigades and regiments, and thereupon requests of them, separately and in writing, a direct and laconic reply to the following queries.

"' 1. Upon the state of facts in the above case, is retaliation justifiable and expedient ?

"' 2. If justifiable, ought it to take place immediately, or should a previous representation be made to Sir Henry Clinton, and satisfaction be demanded from him ?

"' 3. In case of representation and demand, who should be the person or persons to be required ?

"' 4. In case of refusal, and retaliation becoming necessary, of what description shall the officer be on whom it is to take place ; and how shall he be designated for the purpose ?'"

"Twenty-five officers sent answers to the above que

ries in writing. They were unanimous in the opinion, that retaliation was justifiable and expedient; that the leader of the party, [Captain Lippencot,] who murdered Captain Huddy, was the person who ought to suffer; and that, in case he could not be obtained, an officer equal in rank to Captain Huddy should be selected by lot from the British prisoners. Twenty-two of the American officers agreed in the decision, that a representation should first be made to Sir Henry Clinton, and satisfaction demanded; the other three thought, that the laws of war, and the enormity of the offence justified, an immediate execution without previous notice to the British commander.”*

On the 20th of April the following letter was addressed by him to General Knox, and Gouvernour Morris, then of Elizabethtown, N. J. and acting as commissioners for the transaction of certain matters of reciprocal advantage to the two armies:

“Gentlemen,

“I have been favoured with your letter of the 16th of April, by General Forman. Convinced from the state of facts which have been exhibited to me, that justice, expediency, and necessity, require that satisfaction should be obtained for the murder of Captain Huddy, I have in the first instance, made a representation to Sir Henry Clinton, and demanded that the officer who commanded the party, or, if he was not a captain, such a number of agents in the execution as are equal by tariff to that rank, should be delivered up to condign punishment. In case of refusal

* Note by the Editor of Washington's Writings.

I have formed the resolution, that retaliation shall take place upon a British officer of equal rank. It therefore remains with the enemy alone to prevent this distressing alternative; for, having formed my opinion upon the most mature reflection and deliberation, I can never recede from it."

He wrote the next day to Sir Henry Clinton :—

"Sir,

"The enclosed representation from the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, with testimonials to the facts, which can be corroborated by other unquestionable evidence, will bring before your Excellency the most wanton, unprecedented, and inhuman murder, that ever disgraced the arms of a civilized people.

"I shall not, because I believe it to be altogether unnecessary, trouble your Excellency with any animadversions upon this transaction. Candour obliges me to be explicit. To save the innocent, I demand the guilty. Captain Lippencot, therefore, or the officer who commanded at the execution of Captain Huddy, must be given up; or, if that officer was of inferior rank to him, so many of the perpetrators as will, according to the tariff of exchange, be an equivalent. To do this will mark the justice of your Excellency's character. In failure of it, I shall hold myself justifiable, in the eyes of God and man, for the measure to which I shall resort.

"I beg your Excellency to be persuaded, that it cannot be more disagreeable to you to be addressed in this language, than it is to me to offer it; but the subject requires frankness and decision. I have to request your

speedy determination, as my resolution is suspended but for your answer."

About ten days after, he wrote to Brigadier-General Hazen :—

"The enemy, persisting in that barbarous line of conduct which they have pursued during the course of this war, have lately most inhumanly executed Captain Joshua Huddy, of the Jersey State troops, taken prisoner by them at a post on Tom's river ; and in consequence I have written to the British Commander-in-chief, that, unless the perpetrators of that horrid deed were delivered up, I should be under the disagreeable necessity of retaliating, as the only means left to put a stop to such inhuman proceedings.

"You will, therefore, immediately, on receipt of this, designate by lot for the above purpose, a British captain, who is an unconditional prisoner, if such a one is in your possession I need not mention to you, that every possible tenderness, that is consistent with the security of him, should be shown to the person whose unfortunate lot it may be to suffer."

On the next day he wrote to General Robertson of the British army, and now Commander-in-chief; Sir Henry Clinton having sailed for Europe :—

"HEAD QUARTERS, 4th May, 1782.

"Sir,

"I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 1st instant. Your Excellency is acquainted with the determination expressed in my letter of the 21st of April to Sir Henry Clinton. I have now to inform you, that so far from receding from that resolution, orders are given to designate a British officer for retaliation. The

time and place are fixed ; but I still hope the result of your court-martial will prevent this dreadful alternative.

"Sincerely lamenting the cruel necessity, which alone can induce so distressing a measure in the present instance, I do assure your Excellency, that I am as earnestly desirous as you can be, that the war may be carried on agreeably to the rules which humanity formed, and the example of the politest nations recommends," &c.

To the Secretary at War.

"NEWBURGH, 4th May, 1782.

"Dear Sir,

"By the letter to Brigadier-General Hazen, which I have enclosed to you under a flying-seal for your inspection, you will observe the distressing alternative to which we are at last reduced.

"As soon as the British officer, whose unfortunate lot it is to be designated as the object of retaliation, shall arrive in Philadelphia, it will be necessary to have a sufficient escort, under the command of a very discreet and vigilant officer.

* * * * *

"Keenly wounded as my feelings will be, at the deplorable destiny of the unhappy victim, no gleam of hope can arise to him but from the conduct of the enemy themselves. This he may be permitted to communicate to the British Commander-in-chief, in whose power alone it rests to avert the impending vengeance from the innocent by executing it on the guilty."

The following letter, or rather extract of a letter, written by General Hazen to General Washington, will show the proceedings in designating the victim of retaliation.

"On the evening of the 25th instant, I received your Excellency's letters of the 3d and 18th. As I had to collect the British captains, prisoners of war at this place [Lancaster, Pennsylvania,] and Yorktown, it was ten o'clock this morning before I could assemble those gentlemen together. At the drawing of lots, which was done in the presence of Major Gordon and all the British captains within the limits prescribed, the unfortunate lot has fallen on Captain Charles Asgill, of the guards, a young gentleman nineteen years of age; a most amiable character; the only son of Sir Charles Asgill; heir to an extensive fortune, and an honourable title; and, of course, he has great interest in the British court and army. The British officers are highly enraged at the conduct of Sir Henry Clinton; they have solicited my leave to send an officer to New-York on this occasion, or that I should intercede with the minister of war to grant it. Being fully convinced, that no inconvenience could possibly arise to our cause from this indulgence, but, on the contrary, that good policy and humanity dictate the measure, I was pleased at the application, and with cheerfulness have recommended to the minister of war, to grant the honourable Captain Ludlow, son to the earl of Ludlow, leave to carry the representation of those unfortunate officers, who openly declare they have been deserted by their General, and given up to suffer for the sins of the guilty," &c.

Major Gordon, the principal officer among the British prisoners at Lancaster, wrote to Sir Guy Carleton* as follows, after informing him of Captain Asgill's having been selected for retaliation:

* This officer had just arrived as successor of Sir H. Clinton.

"I have done all in my power to prevent it, which I hope will meet with your approbation. Lots were drawn by the captains of Lord Cornwallis' army present here, and when the unfortunate chance fell to Captain Asgill, he received it with that firm coolness that would have reflected honour upon any officer in his Majesty's service. The delicate manner in which General Hazen communicated his orders to the British officers, shows him to be a man of real feeling ; and the mild treatment the prisoners have met with since we came to this place, deserves the warmest acknowledgments of every British officer."

On the 4th of June, General Washington wrote to Colonel Elias Dayton :—

"Sir,

"I am just informed by the Secretary at war, that Captain Asgill, of the British guards, an unfortunate officer, who is destined to be the unhappy victim to atone for the death of Captain Huddy, had arrived in Philadelphia, and would set off very soon for the Jersey line, the place assigned for his execution. He will probably arrive as soon as this will reach you, and will be attended by Captain Ludlow, his friend, whom he wishes to be permitted to go into New-York, with an address to Sir Guy Carleton in his behalf.

You will, therefore, give permission to Captain Ludlow, to go by the way of Dobbs' Ferry into New-York, with such representation as Captain Asgill shall please to make to Sir Guy Carleton. At the same time, I would wish you to intimate to the gentlemen, that, although I am deeply affected with the unhappy fate, to which Captain Asgill is subjected, yet, that it will be to no purpose for

them to make any representation to Sir Guy Carleton, which may serve to draw on a discussion of the present point of retaliation ; that in the stage to which the matter has been suffered to run, all argumentation on the subject is entirely precluded on my part ; that my resolutions have been grounded on so mature deliberation, that they must remain unalterably fixed. You will also inform the gentlemen, that while my duty calls me to make this decisive determination, humanity prompts a tear for the unfortunate offering, and inclines me to say, that I most devoutly wish his life may be spared.

“ In the mean time, I must beg that you will be pleased to treat Captain Asgill with every tender attention and politeness, (consistent with his present situation,) which his rank, fortune, and connexions, together with his unfortunate state, demand.”

Writing to John Dickinson, President of Delaware, on the 19th of June, he says :—

“ I feel myself exceedingly distressed on this occasion ; but my resolutions having been taken on the most mature deliberation, supported by the approbation of Congress, and grounded on the general concurrence of all the principal officers of the army, who were particularly consulted, they cannot be receded from. Justice to the army and the public, my own honour, and I think I may venture to say, universal benevolence, require them to be carried into full execution. It rests, therefore, with the British Commander-in-chief to prevent this unhappy measure from taking effect. The matter is now in agitation ; and I am told that a strict inquiry is making into the conduct of Lippencot, who is charged as being the principal perpetrator of the cruel murder of Cap-

tain Huddy. Should this inquiry lead to a giving of satisfaction by a compliance with my original demand to Sir Henry Clinton, my feelings will be greatly relieved, and I need not assure you, that I shall receive the highest pleasure from such an event."

The trial of Captain Lippencot by a general court-martial, which was in progress when the above letter was written, issued in the acquittal of that officer. He was no doubt guilty of the murder of Huddy, but was screened, according to the general belief, by an Association of Loyalists, under whose authority he had acted. The British commanders were aware of this wicked connivance, and altogether dissatisfied with the acquittal of Lippencot. Of this Sir Guy Carleton gave General Washington pretty plain intimations, when apprizing him of the decision of the court-martial. To this communication, the following letter from Washington to the President of Congress refers ;—its date, Newburgh, 19 August, 1782 :

" As Sir Guy Carleton, notwithstanding the acquittal of Lippencot, reprobates the measure in unequivocal terms, and has given assurance of prosecuting a further inquiry, it has changed the ground I was proceeding upon, and placed the matter upon an extremely delicate footing.

* * * * *

" The same reason which induced me to lay the first steps I took in this affair before Congress, urged me to submit it to them at its present stage. It is a great national concern, upon which an individual ought not to decide. I shall be glad to be favoured with the determination of Congress as early as possible, as I shall sus-

pend giving any answer to Sir Guy Carleton, until I am informed how far they are satisfied with his conduct hitherto.

"I cannot close this letter without making a remark upon that part of Sir Guy Carleton's, in which he charges me with want of humanity in selecting a victim from among the British officers so early as I did. He ought to consider, that by the usages of war, and upon the principles of retaliation, I should have been justified in executing an officer of equal rank with Captain Huddy, immediately upon receiving proofs of his murder; and then informing Sir Henry Clinton that I had done so. Besides, it was impossible for me to foresee, that it would be so very long before the matter would be brought to some kind of issue."

It was some time before Congress acted on the matter thus referred to their judgment. This delay was a great trial to Washington's patience. He could not anticipate their action, and of course every proceeding on his part was suspended. In the meantime Sir Guy Carleton looked for an answer, young Asgill was tortured with suspense, and the public were indulging surmises and reflections in regard to the matter. In a letter to a member of Congress, Washington thus expresses himself in part on the subject. The letter was dated Verplank's Point, 30 September, 1782:

"The particular cause of my disquietude at this time arises from two things. First, while I am totally silent to the public, waiting the decision of Congress on the case of Huddy, I see publications on this head (importing reflections) in one of the Pennsylvania papers, which no man could have made, that had not access to my official

letter of the 19th of August to Congress ; and secondly, because I feel exceedingly for Captain Asgill, who was designated by lot in retaliation for Captain Huddy. While retaliation was apparently necessary, however disagreeable in itself, I had no repugnance to the measure. But when the end proposed by it is answered, by a disavowal of the act, by a dissolution of the board of refugees, and by a promise (whether with or without meaning to comply with it, I shall not determine), that further inquisition should be made into the matter, I thought it incumbent upon me, before I proceeded any farther in the matter, to have the sense of Congress, who had most explicitly approved, and impliedly indeed ordered retaliation to take place.

“ The letter of Asgill, a copy of which I enclose, and the situation of his father, which I am made acquainted with by the British prints, work too powerfully upon my humanity not to wish that Congress would chalk a line for me to walk by in this business. To effect this is the cause of the trouble you now receive from, dear Sir,

“ Your most obedient, and most humble servant.”

“ Captain Asgill had been for some time released from close confinement, and allowed to go at large on parole at Chatham, and in the neighbourhood of that place. He wrote to General Washington, requesting permission to return to Europe, on account of the illness of his father, and the distressed state of his mother and sister in consequence of that event, and of their anxiety for the fate impending over the son and brother.

“ In writing to the secretary of war, a week after the above letter, General Washington said ; ‘ The delay of

Congress places me not only in a very delicate, but a very awkward situation. Were I to give my private opinion respecting Asgill, I would pronounce in favour of his being released from his duress, and that he should be permitted to go to his friends in Europe."—*Note by the Editor of Washington's writings.*

During the month of October, General Washington received a letter from Count de Vergennes, containing a very pathetic appeal in behalf of Captain Asgill. This letter enclosed one from Lady Asgill to the Count, begging his intercession with General Washington in favour of her son. The letter of the French Minister was in the following affecting strain:—

“VERSAILLES, 29th July, 1782.

“Sir,

“It is not in the quality of a King, the friend and ally of the United States, (though with the knowledge and consent of His Majesty,) that I now have the honour to write to your Excellency. It is as a man of sensibility and a tender father, who feels all the force of paternal love, that I take the liberty to address to your Excellency my earnest solicitations in favour of a mother and family in tears. Her situation seems the more worthy of notice on our part, as it is to the humanity of a nation at war with her own, that she has recourse, for what she ought to receive from the impartial justice of her own Generals.

“I have the honour to enclose to your Excellency a copy of a letter, which Lady Asgill has just written me. I am not known to her, nor was I acquainted that her son was the unhappy victim, destined by lot to expiate the odious crime that a formal denial of justice obliges

you to avenge. Your Excellency will not read this letter without being extremely affected ; it had that effect upon the King and Queen, to whom I communicated it. The goodness of their Majesties' hearts induces them to desire, that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother may be calmed, and her tenderness reassured. I felt, sir, that there are cases where humanity itself exacts the most extreme rigour ; perhaps the one now in question may be of the number—but, allowing reprisals to be just, it is not less horrid to those who are the victims ; and the character of your Excellency is too well known, for me not to be persuaded, that you desire nothing more than to be able to avoid the disagreeable necessity.

“ There is one consideration, sir, which, though it is not decisive, may have an influence on your resolution. Captain Asgill is, doubtless, your prisoner, but he is among those whom the arms of the King contributed to put into your hands at Yorktown. Though this circumstance does not operate as a safeguard, it however justifies the interest I permit myself to take in this affair. If it is in your power, sir, to consider, and have regard to it, you will do what is agreeable to their majesties ; the danger of young Asgill, the tears, the despair of his mother, affect them sensibly ; and they will see with pleasure the hope of consolation shine out for those unfortunate people.

“ In seeking to deliver Mr. Asgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to secure another victim ; the pardon, to be perfectly satisfactory, must be entire. I do not imagine it can be productive of any bad consequences. If the English General has not been able to punish the horrible crime you complain of,

in so exemplary a manner as he should, there is reason to think that he will take the most efficacious measures to prevent the like in future.

"I sincerely wish, sir, that my intercession may meet success ; the sentiment which dictates it, and which you have not ceased to manifest on every occasion, assures me, that you will not be indifferent to the prayers and to the tears of a family, which has recourse to your clemency through me. It is rendering homage to your virtue to implore it.

"I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration, sir, yours, &c.

"VERGENNES."

This letter and the enclosed copy of Lady Asgill's were, when received, transmitted to the President of Congress. Being taken into consideration by that body, it was resolved "that the Commander-in-chief be, and he is hereby directed, to set Captain Asgill at liberty."

When duly informed of this resolution, General Washington wrote the following letter to Captain Asgill.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, 13th Nov. 1782.

"Sir,

"It affords me singular pleasure, to have it in my power to transmit to you the enclosed copy of an Act of Congress, of the 7th instant, by which you are released from the disagreeable circumstances in which you have so long been. Supposing that you would wish to go into New-York as soon as possible, I also enclose a passport for that purpose.

"Your letter of the 18th of October, came regularly to my hands. I beg you to believe, that my not answering it sooner, did not proceed from inattention to

you, or a want of feeling for your situation. I daily expected a determination of your case, and I thought it better to await that, than to feed you with hopes, that might in the end prove fruitless. You will attribute my detention of the enclosed letters, which have been in my hands about a fortnight, to the same cause.

"I cannot take leave of you, sir, without assuring you, that, in whatever light my agency in this unpleasant affair may be viewed, I was never influenced, through the whole of it, by sanguinary motives, but by what I conceived to be a sense of my duty, which loudly called upon me to take measures, however disagreeable, to prevent a repetition of those enormities which have been the subject of discussion. And that this important end is likely to be answered, without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person, is not a greater relief to you, than it is to, sir, your most obedient and humble servant."

On the 21st of November, he wrote to Count de Vergennes in answer to his letter. The conclusion of his communication was in the following words:—

"Captain Asgill has been released, and is at perfect liberty to return to the arms of an affectionate parent, whose pathetic address to your Excellency could not fail of interesting every feeling heart in her behalf. I have no right to assume any particular merit from the lenient manner in which this disagreeable affair has terminated. But I beg you to believe, sir, that I most sincerely rejoice, not only because your humane intentions are gratified, but because the event accords with the wishes of His Most Christian Majesty, and His Royal and Amiable Consort, who, by their benevolence and munificence, have endeared them-

selves to every true American. I have the honour to be," &c.

With every impartial person, we conceive that the detail now submitted, must be conclusive of Washington's benevolent and humane sensibilities in reference to this case. Though inflexible in his purposes of rigour—yet these were cherished from a sense of duty and not from any want of sympathy in the sufferings of others. He evidently thought that the partial sacrifice in question, was demanded by the claims of "universal benevolence." What his views and feelings were respecting the principle in the abstract, and of course, as it was involved in in the case before us, may be learned from the unbiassed expression of his sentiments on that subject, in a letter to General Greene, written some months before the event whose occurrence subjected him to so severe a trial. General Greene had requested the opinion of Congress, and of the Commander-in-chief, on the point of retaliation, in reference to the murder of Colonel Hayne by the enemy. General Washington in reply, wrote him, under date of December 15th, 1781 :

"I really know not what to say on the subject of retaliation. Congress have it under consideration, and we must await their determination. Of this I am convinced, that of all laws, it is the most difficult to execute, where you have not the transgressor himself in your possession. Humanity will ever interfere and plead strongly against the sacrifice of an innocent person for the guilt of another."

We shall detain the reader with a single remark. If we have devoted to the subject of this chapter, (the humanity of Washington,) more space than some are dis-

posed to consider necessary, we think a sufficient reason may be assigned. There was no one virtue in the father of his country more exposed than this to the assaults of temptation, nor one more frequently or violently impeached by his enemies. A considerable portion of his life being spent amidst scenes of military conflict, where spectacles of human suffering and bloodshed were constantly before him, it is certain that the trial of his virtue was great, and liable to suspicion from the very fact of its exposure to influences so malign. If to these unfavourable accidents, we add the trying circumstances and embarrassing duties of his high station, with all the responsibilities and fearful consequences involved in the faithful and effectual discharge of its obligations, we cannot be surprised, that a course of conduct should sometimes be imposed on him, by which he would be rendered liable to charges of inhumanity with partial, interested, and incompetent judges. A military life is confessedly adverse to the benignant feelings and sympathies of our nature; and in estimating their prevalence in the character of a warrior, great allowance should be made for his peculiar position and the unpropitious influences thereof. In the present instance we claim the advantage of this reasonable concession; and if it is freely granted, the question is settled. Nor only so. Washington's right to the honour of this virtue will stand on the highest ground: the closest scrutiny, we think, will serve to enhance his claims, and show him entitled to a credit rendered the more illustrious from the severity of the ordeal through which it was his peculiar destiny to pass.

CHAPTER XIV.

HIS VIEWS OF PROFANE SWEARING,
GAMING AND DRUNKENNESS.

IN the history of profaneness, there is this singular peculiarity ; that, whilst no man pretends to excuse or justify it, there are yet multitudes of our race who give it the sanction of their practical approval. The vice is acknowledged to be evil, and only evil, whilst the temptations to it are few and feeble ; and yet many, in spite of their convictions, indulge in it, heedless of the consequences to themselves or others.

In so serious a light does the Almighty regard this offence, that He has included it among the sins specially denounced in the decalogue. That there was ample reason for this solemn prohibition, will be admitted by all who duly consider the essential malignity of the vice, and the injury done by it to the transgressor himself, as to those with whom his example may have authority and influence.

The sin has its origin in a wrong state of the affections. There must be irreverence towards God in the heart, before the same could have so decided a manifestation in the speech. The effect of indulgence in this, as in every other bad propensity, is to augment its force. Habit gives strength and energy to the passion. The

smothered fire exposed to the quickening breeze, is soon fanned into a flame. Nor is there any atmosphere more withering to the buds of grace and virtue than that of profaneness. Under its scorching influence there is a gradual decay of every better feeling; and waxing worse and worse as his corruption spreads, man is at length totally deserted by Him whose sacred name he has not feared to dishonour, whenever incited thereto by the impulses either of anger or of mirth.

Whilst the injury is great to the swearer himself, the effects of his iniquity are not less serious in regard to society at large. Nothing is more demoralizing in its influence upon mankind, than profane swearing. It not only weakens what has been termed the moral sense in those who practise it, but very much corrupts that essential faculty in those who hear with frequency, the polluting sounds of blasphemy. Where the vice prevails, the fear of God is never found; and men, released from the salutary checks of conscience and religion, give free scope to their passions, and submit to no restraints but those which self-interest may impose.

Gaming also is a practice, vicious in itself, and very detrimental to society. Whatever apologies may be made for it by those interested in its defence, it is nevertheless certain, that there are few vices more intrinsically evil, or relatively injurious. As profaneness is a violation of the command, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain,"—so this is indulged, in contravention of the command "Thou shalt not steal." There are but two ways in which a man can honestly become the possessor of the property of others; that is, by free

gift, or by returning an equivalent for what is received. Now it is by neither of these methods, that the gamester acquires the property of his associates. He does not receive it as a free gift, nor does he give them an equivalent for their property. Their wealth has been transferred to his coffers, sorely against their will, and he is in possession of it without the sacrifice of a farthing on his part; and it was with the desire for, and hope of such a result, that he sat down to the gaming table. He coveted his neighbour's money, and avails himself of this way of getting it from him, careless of the consequences to him, regardless of his sufferings or his total ruin.

In such an engagement there must be the worst feelings embarked. Besides the "accursed love of gold," which moves the whole, there is a feverish excitement of selfish desire, which withers every generous feeling of the breast, and exhausts every energy of mind and body. Self is the idol at whose shrine the parties offer their adorations. To this, as to another Moloch, do they sacrifice every good affection, every tender sympathy, every claim of humanity. No matter how severe the calamity, of fortune lost, and family beggared; no matter what anguish may wring the tortured soul of the loser; the winner in his triumph is heedless of it all. He witnesses the distress he has caused, and cherishes no feeling of sympathy, nor any kind purpose of relieving the unhappy sufferer. He could do so without injury to himself. It would only be necessary for him to restore what belonged to the other, and when thus restored, would leave him where he was before the game commenced. But this he will not do. He chooses to retain his ill-gotten

gains, that he may expend them in guilty extravagance or in miserly accumulation.

This unhallowed pursuit involves, moreover, a total subversion of the economy of social life. The order of Providence directs to honest and patient industry, as the means of acquiring the ordinary benefits of earth. The appointment is fraught with the richest blessings to men. It gains for them a competency of worldly goods, with comfort, health, and security. There is no other course of conduct so favourable to the development of virtue and the attainment of true happiness. Such a life is the friend of sobriety, the nurse of contentment, and aid of godliness. In this way alone can individuals or communities prosper. In this way alone can they gain happiness for this life, or hope for the next. But with this beneficent provision of a kind providence, the love of play is entirely at war. Instead of industry, with its train of blessings, there is idleness, extravagance, waste, improvidence, fraud, inhumanity and impiety. If such a spirit prevailed universally, society would be dissolved, and all its precious blessings be no more.

The crime of Drunkenness is one of hideous aspect, and appalling consequences. There is, however, less occasion to discuss this vice, because many pens and tongues have been of late actively engaged in displaying its enormity, and holding up its evils to the public view. In all that is said of its guilt, its malignity, and awful effects we entirely concur. It has, indeed, been the unrelenting scourge of our earth, and is now one of the most dreadful curses by which the race is afflicted. It is at this hour one of the most prolific sources of disease, disgrace, poverty, and death, that is known in our world.

and more than any thing else, demands the zeal of the patriot, philanthropist, and Christian, in order to its correction and final extinction.

Wise and good men have ever been the uncompromising enemies of the evil practices and habits here detailed. Regarding them as offensive to God and destructive to men, they have held it their duty to condemn their indulgence, and endeavour to arrest their growth and prevalence.

Among the many worthies who have borne a decided and unequivocal testimony against them, the subject of these pages is entitled to a high rank. From an early period of his life he seems to have been impressed with a proper sense of the great evil of them, and to have used his influence, on all proper occasions, to discourage and suppress them in those with whom he might have weight and authority.

In a letter written to an inferior officer of the army, in the year 1756, he has the following language :

"The Governour seems determined to make the Officers comply with the terms of holding their commissions, or forfeit them. He seems uneasy at what I own gives me much concern ; namely, that gaming is introduced into the camp. I am ordered to discourage it, and must desire that you will intimate the same."

In reference to this and kindred topics he wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, from Winchester, under date of April 18th, 1756.

"Sir,

"It gave me infinite concern to find in yours, by Governor Innes, that any representations should inflame the Assembly against the Virginia regiment, or give cause

to suspect the morality and good behaviour of the officers. How far any of the individuals may have deserved such reflections, I will not take upon me to determine ; but this I am certain of, and can call my conscience, and what I suppose will be a still more demonstrative proof in the eyes of the world, my orders, to witness how much I have, both by threats and persuasive means, endeavoured to discountenance *gaming, drinking, swearing, and irregularities of every other kind* ; while I have, on the other hand, practised every artifice to inspire a laudable emulation in the officers for the service of their country, and to encourage the soldiers in the unerring exercise of their duty. How far I have failed in this desirable end, I cannot pretend to say. But it is nevertheless a point, which does in my opinion merit some scrutiny, before it meets with a final condemnation. Yet I will not undertake to vouch for the conduct of many of the officers, as I know there are some, who have the seeds of idleness very strongly implanted in their natures.

* * * * * *

“ However, if I continue in the service, I shall take care to act with a little more rigour, than has hitherto been practised, since I find it so necessary.”

In the succeeding June, whilst at Fort Cumberland, the following orders were issued by the Commander:—

“ Colonel Washington has observed, that the men of his regiment are very profane and reprobate. He takes this opportunity to inform them of his great displeasure at such practices, and assures them that, if they do not leave them off, they shall be severely punished. The officers are desired, if they hear any

man swear, or make use of an oath or execration, to order the offender twenty-five lashes immediately, without a court-martial. For the second offence he will be more severely punished."

In September he wrote, from Mount Vernon, to Governor Dinwiddie :—

"I apprehend it will be thought advisable to keep a garrison always at Fort Loudoun ; for which reason I would beg leave to represent the number of tippling-houses in Winchester, as a great nuisance to the soldiers, who, by this means, in despite of the utmost care and vigilance, are, so long as their pay holds out, incessantly drunk, and unfit for service."

The day after General Washington took command of the American army, under the authority of Congress, he issued orders to the troops, of which the following is an extract :

"The General most earnestly requires and expects a due observance of those articles of war, established for the government of the army, which forbid profane cursing, swearing, and drunkenness. And in like manner, he requires and expects of all officers and soldiers, not engaged on actual duty, a punctual attendance on divine service," &c.

On the 26th of February, 1776, the following orders were issued :

"All officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, are positively forbid playing at cards and other games of chance. At this time of public distress, men may find enough to do in the service of their God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality."

From the Orderly Book, August 30.—“The General is sorry to be informed, that the foolish and wicked practice of profane cursing and swearing, a vice heretofore little known in an American army, is growing into fashion ; he hopes the officers will, by example as well as influence, endeavour to check it ; and that both they and the men will reflect, that we can have little hope of the blessing of heaven on our arms, if we insult it by our impiety and folly ; added to this, it is a vice so mean and low, without any temptation, that every man of sense and character detests and despises it.”

In a circular to the brigadier-generals, dated 26th of May, 1777, are the following instructions :

“ Let vice and immorality of every kind be discouraged as much as possible in your brigade ; and, as a chaplain is allowed to each regiment, see that the men regularly attend divine worship. Gaming of every kind is expressly forbidden, as being the foundation of evil, and the cause of many a brave and gallant officer’s ruin. Games of exercise for amusement, may not only be permitted but encouraged.” *

* As an evidence of Washington’s disposition to encourage among his troops, innocent diversions in place of vicious ones ; the following anecdote may not be unacceptable.

“ In the year 1780, a command of about five hundred men had been detached from the main army, to a post on the bank of the Hudson, above Fort Lee, at what is now called, we believe, “ The Pallisadoes.” Soon after, General Washington, accompanied by his staff, visited the command. After the usual parade and salute, the troops stacked arms ; and several of the officers and men amused themselves with efforts to cast stones from the high bluff, (which to the eye appeared almost perpendicular,) into the river ; but no one was able to effect it. Washington, sitting on his charger, and witnessing the sport, smiled at the ineffectual attempts, dismounted, gave his sword to his servant, search-

The following is an extract of a private letter written to his nephew, Bushrod Washington, then a student of law in Philadelphia, and afterwards heir of Mount Vernon, and an associate judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. It will be found to contain a forcible reiteration of views, presented in our previous citations.

"NEWBURGH, 15th Jan. 1783.

"Dear Bushrod,

* * * * *

"Let the object, which carried you to Philadelphia, be always before your eyes. Remember, that it is not the mere study of the law, but to become eminent in the profession of it, that is to yield honour and profit. The first was your choice; let the second be your ambition. Dissipation is incompatible with both; the company in which you will improve most, will be the least expensive to you; and yet I am not such a stoic as to suppose that you will, or to think it right that you should, always be in company with senators and philosophers; but of the juvenile kind, let me advise you to be choice. It is easy to make acquaintances, but very difficult to shake them off, however irksome and unprofitable they are found, after we have once committed ourselves to them. The

ed for a stone, and finding a suitable one, took two or three quick steps, and giving it a jerk, it seemed to take wings, and scaling a considerable distance almost horizontally, struck the water, at least a rod from the shore. All the troops witnessed the feat, and gave three spontaneous cheers, when the General, without the least appearance of having made an exertion, remounted and returned to the camp. It would be difficult to describe the sensations felt by the spectators, of this feat of muscular strength, however trivial, performed by the idol of the army."

indiscretions, which very often they involuntary lead one into, prove equally distressing and disgraceful.

“ Be courteous to all, but intimate with few ; and let those few be well tried before you give them your confidence. True friendship is a plant of slow growth, and must undergo and withstand the shocks of adversity before it is entitled to the appellation.

“ Let your heart feel for the afflictions and distresses of every one, and let your hand give in proportion to your purse ; remembering always the estimation of the widow’s mite, but, that it is not every one that asketh, that deserveth charity ; all, however, are worthy of the inquiry, or the deserving may suffer.

“ Do not conceive that fine clothes make fine men, any more than fine feathers make fine birds. A plain genteel dress is more admired, and obtains more credit, than lace and embroidery, in the eyes of the judicious and sensible.

“ The last thing which I shall mention, is first in importance ; and that is, *to avoid gaming*. This is a vice which is productive of every possible evil ; equally injurious to the morals and health of its votaries. It is the child of avarice, the brother of iniquity, and father of mischief. It has been the ruin of many worthy families, the loss of many a man’s honour, and the cause of suicide. To all those who enter the lists, it is equally fascinating. The successful gamester pushes his good fortune, till it is overtaken by a reverse. The losing gamester, in hopes of retrieving past misfortunes, goes on from bad to worse, till grown desperate, he pushes at every thing and loses his all. In a word, few gain by this abominable practice, while thousands are injured.

"Perhaps you will say, 'My conduct has anticipated the advice,' and, 'not one of the cases applies to me.' I shall be heartily glad of it. It will add not a little to my happiness, to find those to whom I am so nearly connected, pursuing the right walk of life ; it will be the sure road to my favour, and to those honours and places of profit, which their country can bestow ; as merit rarely goes unrewarded. I am, dear Bushrod, your affectionate uncle."

Thus strong and emphatic was the condemnation, which these vices incurred at the hands of the Father of his Country. Nor will any, who have carefully marked the tone and spirit of his admonitions, be disposed to ascribe his opposition to a mere love of order, or concern for the interests of the service in which he was engaged. It is manifest that his disapprobation was cordial, springing from a real and fixed aversion to the habits themselves. They were offensive to his sense of moral and religious propriety, and therefore discouraged, from principle, through every period of his life. It need scarcely be added, that his example was in harmony with his precepts, and was always considered as fully authorizing the decision and zeal with which he censured vice in those who were in any way subject to his command.

CHAPTER XV.

HIS VIEWS OF WAR.

THERE is no fruit of human corruption more strongly marked with the impress of its unholy origin, than aggressive war. Few practices known in our world, can be for a moment compared with this, for its essential malignity of purpose, and its desolation of human happiness and virtue. It exhibits at once the strongest proof of human depravity, and the fearful connexion established between vice and suffering. For it is indeed “the day of the Lord, cruel both with wrath and fierce anger.” It is a case in which retribution pursues transgression with unwonted rapidity. In many instances of human folly and sin, vengeance slumbers for a season. But here, as if to deter mankind from an iniquity thus monstrous and fatal, the punishment is so blended with the offence, that the delusive hope of impunity can never be cherished. If the worst effects of the storm are not encountered, yet to pass through entirely unscathed is next to an impossibility. If the physical evils are escaped, yet the moral will not be. If the body is not sacrificed, yet will

a more costly offering be made in the immolation of the spirit, in the loss of its virtue and its happiness.

"War," says a celebrated writer, * "may be considered in two views,—as it affects the happiness, and as it affects the virtue of mankind; as a source of misery, and as a source of crimes.

"1. *Though we must all die*, as the woman of Tekoa said, *and are as water spilt upon the ground which cannot be gathered up*, yet it is impossible for a human mind to contemplate the rapid extinction of innumerable lives without concern. To perish in a moment, to be hurried instantaneously, without preparation and without warning, into the presence of the Supreme Judge, has something in it inexpressibly awful and affecting. War is the work, the element, or rather the sport and triumph of death, who glories, not only in the strength of his conquests, but in the richness of his spoil. In the other methods of attack, in the other forms which death assumes, the feeble and the aged, who at the best can live but a short time, are usually the victims; here it is the vigorous and the strong. It is remarked by an ancient historian, that 'in peace children bury their parents, in war parents bury their children:' nor is the difference small. Children lament their parents, sincerely indeed, but with that moderate and tranquil sorrow which it is natural for those to feel who are conscious of retaining many tender ties, many animating prospects. Parents mourn for their children with the bitterness of despair; the aged parent, the widowed mother, loses, when she is deprived of her children,

* Robert Hall.

every thing but the capacity of suffering ; her heart withered and desolate, admits no other object, cherishes no other hope. *It is Rachael weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted because they are not.*

“ What a scene must a field of battle present, where thousands are left without assistance and without pity, with their wounds exposed to the piercing air, while the blood, freezing as it flows, binds them to the earth, amid the trampling of horses and the insults of an enraged foe ! If they are spared by the humanity of the enemy, and carried from the field, it is but a prolongation of torment. Conveyed in uneasy vehicles, often to a remote distance, through roads almost impassable, they are lodged in ill-prepared receptacles for the wounded and the sick, where the variety of distress baffles all the efforts of humanity and skill, and renders it impossible to give to each the attention he demands. Far from their native home, no tender assiduities of friendship, no well-known voice, no wife, or mother, or sister, is near to soothe their sorrows, relieve their thirst, or close their eyes in death. Unhappy man ! and must you be swept into the grave unnoticed and unnumbered, and no friendly tear be shed for your sufferings or mingled with your dust ? ”

After other forcible reflections on the numerous evils of war, besides those which touch the persons and lives of men, our author proceeds to make the following remarks on the influence of national warfare on the morals of mankind.

“ The contests of nations are both the offspring and the parent of injustice. The word of God ascribes the existence of war to the disorderly passions of mankind. *Whence come wars and fightings among you ? saith*

the apostle James ; *come they not from your lusts that war in your members ?* It is certain that two nations cannot engage in hostilities, but one party must be guilty of injustice ; and if the magnitude of crimes is to be estimated by a regard to their consequences, it is difficult to conceive an action of equal guilt with the wanton violation of peace. Though something must generally be allowed for the complexity and intricacy of national claims, and the consequent liability to deception, yet where the guilt of an unjust war is clear and manifest, it sinks every other crime into insignificance. If the existence of war always *implies* injustice in one at least of the parties concerned, it is also the fruitful parent of crimes. It reverses with respect to its objects, all the rules of morality. It is nothing less than a temporary repeal of the principles of virtue. It is a system out of which almost all the virtues are excluded, and in which nearly all the vices are incorporated. Whatever renders human nature amiable or respectable, whatever engages love or confidence, is sacrificed at its shrine. In instructing us to consider a portion of our fellow-creatures as the proper objects of enmity, it removes, as far as they are concerned, the basis of all society, of all civilization and virtue ; for the basis of these is the good-will due to every individual of the species, as being a part of ourselves. From this principle all the rules of social virtue emanate. Justice and humanity, in their utmost extent, are nothing more than the practical application of this great law. The sword, and that alone, cuts asunder the bond of consanguinity which unites man to man. As it immediately aims at the extinction of life, it is next to impossible, upon the principle that every thing may be lawfully

done to him whom we have a right to kill, to set limits to military license ; for when men pass from the domination of reason to that of force, whatever restraints are attempted to be laid on the passions will be feeble and fluctuating. Though we must applaud, therefore, the attempts of the humane Grotius, to blend maxims of humanity with military operations, it is to be feared they will never coalesce, since the former imply the subsistence of those ties which the latter suppose to be dissolved. Hence the morality of peaceful times are directly opposite to the maxims of war. The fundamental rule of the first is to do good ; of the latter to inflict injuries. The former commands us to succour the oppressed ; the latter to overwhelm the defenceless. The former teaches men to love their enemies ; the latter to make themselves terrible even to strangers.

* * * * *

“ While the philanthropist is devising means to mitigate the evils and augment the happiness of the world, a fellow-worker together with God, in exploring and giving effect to the benevolent tendencies of nature, the warrior is revolving in the gloomy recesses of his capacious mind, plans of future devastation and ruin. Prisons crowded with captives, cities emptied of their inhabitants, fields desolate and waste, are among his proudest trophies. The fabric of his fame is cemented with tears and blood ; and if his name is wafted to the ends of the earth, it is in the shrill cry of suffering humanity ; in the curses and imprecations of those whom his sword has reduced to despair.

“ Let me not be understood to involve in this guilt, every man who engages in war, or to assert that war it-

self is in all cases unlawful. The injustice of mankind, hitherto incurable, renders it in some instances necessary, and therefore lawful ; but unquestionably, these instances are much more rare than the practice of the world and its loose casuistry would lead us to suppose."

In these just and eloquent remarks we have such sentiments as might well be expected from a minister of the Prince of Peace. But do not the sentiments they contain commend themselves to the cordial approbation of every benevolent mind? That they were the views entertained by the eminent subject of these pages, though a soldier from his youth, may be very clearly shown by reference to his recorded opinions.

In the year 1761, we find him expressing himself in the following language, in a letter written from Mount Vernon to Richard Washington, of London :—

" I do not know that I can muster up one tittle of news to communicate. In short, the occurrences of this part of the world are at present scarce worth reciting ; for as we live in a state of peaceful tranquillity ourselves, so we are at very little trouble to inquire after the operations against the Cherokees, who are the only people that disturb the repose of this great continent, and who, I believe, would gladly accommodate differences upon almost any terms ; not, I conceive, from any apprehensions they are under, on account of our arms, but because they want the supplies, with which we, and we only can furnish them. We catch the reports of peace with gaping mouth, and every person seems anxious for a confirmation of that desirable event, provided it comes, as no doubt it will upon honourable terms."

Writing to the same a few weeks later he says :—

“ We have little or no news. Our assembly is at present convened, to grant supplies for carrying on the war against the Cherokee Indians, should they choose to continue it, but this I am persuaded, they are by no means inclined to do, nor are they prepared for it, as they have been soliciting peace for some time past. I wish the powers of Europe were as well disposed to an accomodation as these poor wretches. A stop would then be put to the effusion of blood, and peace and plenty would resume their empire again, to the joy and content, I believe, of most ranks and degrees of people. I am,” &c.

The same sentiments in favour of peace and harmony among nations, will be found in the subjoined “ Answer to an address of the New-York Provincial Congress,”—the date of the answer being, New-York, 26th June, 1775 :—

“ Gentlemen,

“ At the same time that with you I deplore the unhappy necessity of such an appointment, as that with which I am now honoured, I cannot but feel sentiments of the highest gratitude for this affecting instance of distinction and regard.

“ May your every wish be realized in the success of America, at this important and interesting period ; and be assured, that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself, will be equally extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between the mother country and the colonies, as to the fatal but necessary operations of war. When we assumed the soldier, we did not lay aside the citizen ; and we shall most sincerely

rejoice with you in that happy hour, when the establishment of American liberty, upon the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country. I am," &c.

The feelings expressed in this letter, were those which attended the writer through every period and vicissitude of the revolution. Though animated by a military spirit, and eminently qualified for the operations of war, yet was he heartily averse to the necessity laid upon him, and ever longing for the shades of his own rural retreat, and the peaceful employments of his farm. He continued the pursuits of war from a solemn conviction of duty ; but so soon as a sense of obligation permitted, he hastened away from the camp and battle-field, to the long desired scenes of domestic and agricultural life.

We find the following sentiments in a letter written to Arthur Young, Esq., of Great-Britain, some years after the War ; its date is Mount Vernon, Dec. 4, 1788 :—

"The more I am acquainted with agricultural affairs, the better I am pleased with them ; insomuch, that I can no where find so great satisfaction as in those innocent and useful pursuits. In indulging these feelings, I am led to reflect how much more delightful to an undebauched mind, is the task of making improvements on the earth, than all the vain-glory which can be acquired from ravaging it, by the most uninterrupted career of conquests. The design of this observation, is only to show how much, as a member of human society, I feel myself obliged by your labours to render respectable and advantageous, an employment which is more

congenial to the natural dispositions of mankind, than any other."

In a letter written about the same time to the secretary of the Humane Society, in Boston, the following views are expressed :

" Your respectable favour covering a recent publication of the Humane Society, has, within a few days past, been put into my hands.

" I observe, with singular satisfaction, the cases in which your benevolent institution has been instrumental in recalling some of our fellow-creatures (as it were) from beyond the gates of eternity ; and it has given occasion for the hearts of parents and friends to leap with joy. The provision made for shipwrecked mariners is also highly estimable in the view of every philanthropic mind, and greatly consolatory to the suffering part of the community. These things will draw upon you the blessings of those who were nigh to perish. These works of charity and good-will towards men, reflect, in my estimation, great lustre upon the authors, and presage an era of still further improvements.

" How pitiful, in the eye of reason and religion, is that false ambition which desolates the world with fire and sword for the purposes of conquest and fame, compared to the milder virtues of making our neighbours and our fellow-men as happy as their frail conditions and perishable natures will permit them to be."

The following extracts from letters written by a Dr. Letsom, of London, to a friend in Boston, contain references to the above communication :

" I received with great pleasure thy letter containing an extract of another from General Washington, in

which that hero, who effected, with little bloodshed, the greatest revolution in history, breathes the sentiments of true philanthropy.

"I have not the honour of knowing, or corresponding with General Washington, but if any opportunity offers, might I presume upon communicating to him the cordial approbation his humane sentiments have impressed upon me? A warrior clothed with humanity and wisdom, is the symbol of Minerva; and few have united them. Turenne had courage and some degree of humanity; but he it was that burnt the Palatinate, and had the Nero-like pleasure of seeing thirteen cities in flames. Scipio's humanity was stained with the destruction of Carthage; and Rome fell for want of a rival. Alexander the Great, and the modern Frederick, had their stains of cruelty. But your HERO, without the lictor of Cincinnatus, was obeyed:—Conquers and retires, without the foul stain of blood.

"Our anniversary dinner was attended by about 500. In my address to those gentlemen, ex-officio, being treasurer, I introduced the extract from General Washington's letter, as a part of my speech, which was received with exclamations and plaudits. Lord Fife, the Bishop of St. David's, Lord Stamford, and Lord Willoughby de Broke, were present."

The sincerity of Washington's professions was never rendered questionable by a single instance of aggressive war on his part. He always fought in self-defence, in support of the rights, liberties, and lives, of his fellow-countrymen. Nor did he ever seek to prolong the contest from motives of ambition or gain. He ever ardently desired the cessation of hostilities, and the grateful return of peace,

harmony, and good-will. War was not a game in which he sought amusement at the expense of others, but a last resort, in whose dangers and toils he always bore his full share, and from which he sought release, as soon as conscience and honour would permit. The spirit in which he contended was that which secured the favour of a righteous Providence, and the approbation of all good men. If the same principles were universally cherished by those who rule the destinies of nations, the auspicious day would soon dawn upon the world, in which the people “shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; in which, nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”

CHAPTER XVI.

HIS VIEWS OF DUELLING.

IT is one of the pleasing indications of a growing refinement in morals and manners, that Duelling has lost in our age, much of its imposing lustre, as a chivalrous and dignified custom. The lights of knowledge and religion have unveiled its true character, and revealed it as a barbarous practice, worthy of its gothic origin, and founded in principles as fatal to the peace and stability of the social state, as they are derogatory to the honour and authority of God.

There is, however, delusion enough on the subject still lingering among men, to claim in this connection, a few remarks in illustration of the evil and mischievous nature of the vice.

The divine command, prohibiting the destruction of human life, is violated in various ways, as moralists decide. Among these there are none more justly exposed to the withering imputation, than the one now under consideration. In Duelling, we have all the real constituents of this sin. Where a challenge is given and accepted, there is assuredly, in the great majority of instances at least, a design to kill cherished by both par-

ties. This is evinced as clearly as outward actions can indicate the inward dispositions. It is rendered manifest by every step taken in the *honourable* affair, from the selection of deadly weapons, down to the fatal aim at the seat of life, in the hour of bloody combat. Whatever aggravation arises from deliberate intention, also attends the deed. The challenge is usually given after time has been taken for reflection, and it is accepted under the same circumstances. Can it be said, notwithstanding, that there is no intention to destroy life? What, then, is the intention? Is it to be killed? This cannot be. Does not hatred, or revenge, ordinarily prompt the whole proceeding? If it is ever otherwise, is it not an exception to a general rule? There has been a real or imaginary injury received, and anger kindles within the bosom a thirst for blood. Thus the Holy Scriptures declare that "he that is angry with his brother without a cause, and he that hateth his brother is a murderer." If the principle, though not revealed in the conduct, is thus regarded as murder, in the bud, what shall be thought of its practical development in the positive attempt to kill. It is an imposition on the common sense of mankind to assign other motives to such conduct, or to palliate the enormity of the act, by referring it to other principles than those which manifestly prompt it. Regarded in its most favourable aspect—as a sacrifice to public opinion, the extenuation is very slight; for even in that case, without any just warrant, the hazard is run of the most dreadful consequences. The loss of two lives is risked, with all the distressing effects to relatives and friends. Those who, perhaps, claim the care and protection of a husband and a father, may be left forlorn and desolate. The light of hope may be ex-

tinguished, and all the evils of friendless widowhood, and helpless orphanage, come upon them. It is useless, however, to enlarge. Whatever human ingenuity may devise in its vindication, there is no crime more palpably or grossly wicked in itself; none more justly exposed to the anathemas of Heaven, or the reprobation of men. Nor can we rejoice too much in those just and humane sentiments, which at length to a great extent, have arrayed against it the solemn enactments of law, and the stern decisions of judicial officers and civil rulers.

What the views of Washington were, in reference to this barbarous practice, may be inferred from an occurrence of his early years, of which the following facts are the most prominent:

In the year 1754, when about twenty-two years of age, he was stationed in Alexandria, as Colonel of a regiment of Virginia troops. During his stay in that town, an election for members of the House of Burgesses took place. The candidates were Colonel George Fairfax and a Mr. Elzey. His warm friendship for Colonel Fairfax brought him in collision with a Mr. Payne, the friend of Mr. Elzey. In consequence of some offensive language into which he was betrayed towards Mr. Payne, that individual struck him with a stick, and so violent was the blow, that it knocked him down. There being a great excitement among the officers and men belonging to his regiment, because of this indignity offered their beloved commander, he forthwith employed his influence in allaying the tumult, and then retired to his lodgings in a public house. From thence he wrote a note to Mr. Payne, requesting that he would meet him next morning at the tavern, as he wished to

see him in reference to their recent disagreement. Payne, in expectation of an unpleasant interview, repaired accordingly to the appointed place, and instead of a hostile meeting, found Washington prepared to acknowledge his fault, and solicit pardon for the offence given in an unguarded moment. It is needless to say, that Payne witnessed with admiration, this triumph of principle over passion, and that a friendship was kindled in his bosom, which he did not cease to cherish as long as he lived.

How noble and becoming was this conduct. It was especially admirable in a youthful soldier, whose very profession exposed him to peculiar temptations on such an occasion. How many would have been driven by the fear of reproach, and dread of unfavourable insinuations, to incur the hazards of a duel; thus offering up at the shrine of honour the costly sacrifice of human life. It was not possible that a man like Washington, so endowed with moral courage and regard for virtue, should be moved by the fear of man to such a course. He dreaded not the charge of cowardice from the mouths of fools. In his own bosom he had its ample refutation. He was conscious of a fortitude which no dangers could shake. To display it in murdering a fellow-citizen was not his ambition. He had before him the tented field and the enemies of his country, and he was pledged for the hazards of a mortal conflict in her defence. Here he was willing to show his courage, and lay down his life. He would not do so to gratify revenge, or win applause from the vain.

An incident attending the history of General Lafayette, during the Revolutionary War, afforded another occa-

sion for evincing his principles in reference to this pernicious custom.

Having it in view to send a challenge to Lord Carlisle, President of the Board of British Commissioners, on account of offensive language towards France, sanctioned by him in an address to Congress ; Lafayette, as in duty bound, wrote to General Washington, requesting his opinion of the propriety of the proposed course, and received the following reply :—

“FISHKILL, 4th Oct., 1778.

“My Dear Marquis,

“I have had the pleasure of receiving, by the hands of Monsieur de la Colombe, your favour of the 28th ultimo, accompanied by one of the 24th, which he overtook some where on the road. The leave requested in the former, I am as much interested to grant, as to refuse my approbation of the challenge proposed in the latter. The generous spirit of chivalry, exploded by the rest of the world, finds a refuge, my dear friend, in the sensibility of your nation only. But it is in vain to cherish it, unless you can find antagonists to support it ; and however well adapted it might have been to the times in which it existed, in our days it is to be feared, that your opponent, sheltering himself behind modern opinions, and under his present public character of commissioner, would turn a virtue of such ancient date into ridicule. Besides, supposing his Lordship accepted your terms, experience has proved, that chance is often as much concerned in deciding these matters as bravery ; and always more than the justice of the cause. I would not, therefore, have your life by the remotest possibility exposed, when it may be reserved for so many greater

occasions. His Excellency, the Admiral, I flatter myself, will be in sentiment with me ; and, as soon as he can spare you, will send you to head-quarters, where I anticipate the pleasure of seeing you."

In a letter to the French Admiral, written some weeks after the above, he again refers to this subject :—

" The coincidence between your Excellency's sentiments, respecting the Marquis de Lafayette's challenge, communicated in the letter with which you honoured me on the 20th, and those which I expressed to him on the same subject, is peculiarly flattering to me. I am happy to find that my disapprobation of this measure was founded on the same arguments, which, in your Excellency's hands, acquire new force and persuasion. I omitted neither serious reasoning nor pleasantry to divert him from a scheme, in which he could be so easily foiled, without having any credit given to him by his antagonist for his generosity and sensibility. He intimated, that your Excellency did not discountenance it, and that he had pledged himself to the principal officers of the French squadron, to carry it into execution. The charms of vindicating the honour of his country were irresistible ; but, besides, he had in a manner committed himself, and could not decently retract. I however continued to lay my friendly commands upon him to renounce his project ; but I was well assured that, if he determined to persevere in it, neither authority nor vigilance would be of any avail to prevent his message to Lord Carlisle. And though his ardour overreached my advice and influence, I console myself with the reflection, that his Lordship will not accept the challenge ; and that while our friend gains all the applause, which

is due to him for wishing to become the champion of his country, he will be secure from the possibility of such dangers as my fears would otherwise create for him, by those powerful barriers, which shelter his Lordship, and which I am persuaded he will not in the present instance violate.

"The report of Lord Carlisle's having proposed a substitute, reached me for the first time, in your Excellency's letter. If this is really the case, his Lordship has availed himself of one of the ways in which he was at liberty to waive the Marquis's defiance, and has probably answered it in a strain of pleasantry; for the affair being wholly personal, his Lordship could not have made such a proposition seriously. Indeed I have every reason to think, that the matter has terminated as I expected; for the Marquis was still in Philadelphia by my last accounts from thence."

Thus decided was Washington in his opposition to the proposed combat. In his view, the principle was one, however sanctioned by the practice of barbarous ages, yet justly exploded by modern opinions, and rendered unreasonable by the inadequacy of the means to the contemplated end. He does not, indeed, dwell on the wrong feelings which usually enter into such matters, for the case and the circumstances were not of the ordinary kind. The parties were already at war. They were arrayed against each other, like David and Goliath of old, on opposite sides of a great national contest. It was therefore more difficult to assign their true character, to the feelings which prompted Lafayette to seek the encounter. Had they met in the field of battle, none would have condemned an effort made by the youthful friend

of America, to destroy the enemy of her liberties. He would have been regarded as discharging a high duty to the cause in which he had embarked. Such, indeed, were not his avowed motives in the case before us. It was professedly to avenge an insult offered his own country. In this there was a needless exposure of his own life contemplated, together with a wanton risk of shedding the blood of another; a risk which was not required by the nature of the contest in which they were respectively engaged. And yet there was enough in the circumstances to perplex the subject in a degree, and by presenting it in a somewhat tangled form to the mind of Washington, serve to soften the judgment which would be expressed by him concerning the measure. He was, however, positive in his disapprobation. And if he was so, under such circumstances, when the antagonist was a declared enemy, and the end, the vindication of a national wrong,—what would have been his judgment in cases where the disagreement was between friends, and the offence private and trivial, if not altogether imaginary. Would he not have visited with unqualified censure a proceeding, so causeless in its origin, and likely in its results to be attended by deplorable evils. A slight knowledge of the laws of his character, will suffice to assure us of his hostility to a thing so absurd in itself and mischievous in its consequences.

CHAPTER XVII.

HIS DEATH.

IT is not to the death, but to the life of the Christian, that we look for the proof of faith and test of character. So many accidents may arise to cloud his expiring moments and deprive him of self-possession, that they cannot be regarded as furnishing, generally, a safe criterion of piety or hope. Death may suddenly overtake him ; or his disease may be attended by such unfavourable influences, as to preclude the possibility of any decisive exhibition of thought or feeling. The mind may be absorbed by extreme bodily pain, or delirium may entirely derange its action, extinguishing its lights and embarrassing all its perceptions. Every thing in the closing scene may thus be indefinite and confused ; the believer travels through the shadow of death in a state of dim eclipse ; though he is in fact unchanged in principle, and as much an object of divine approbation and complacency, as in his brightest seasons of devout enjoyment and delight.

The Scriptures, while they record the piety and display the virtues of many distinguished worthies, never point us to their death-bed for proof of sincerity or confirma-

tion of excellence. It is to their lives that they mainly direct our attention for scrutiny and imitation. The servants of God have, in all ages, been more or less favoured with grace to help them in death, and sometimes they have gloriously triumphed in the hour of dissolution. But the majority have rather adorned religion by holy lives, than by happy deaths. The language of Scripture on this subject is, “Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for *the end of that man is peace.*” His death-bed is attended by peace, rather than rapture. This he may not always enjoy. But there is good ground for hope, that such will be the allotment of the righteous, in his last hour. Less than this is indeed often ordained by Him, who does all things after the counsel of his own will, but more also has been occasionally in mercy vouchsafed.

A pious and useful writer* has the following observations on this subject :

“Thus it is said, ‘The righteous hath hope in his death.’ The degrees of this hope vary. In some we see this hope contending with fear, and not always able to repel it. In some it produces a serenity in which the mind is stayed upon God, yet unattended with any higher feeling and pleasure; while some possess and display the full assurance of hope; and have an entrance ministered unto them abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of their Lord and Saviour.

* * * * *

“Now we are not going to claim this joy unspeakable and full of glory; or even this perfect peace; or even

* Jay.

this supporting confidence, for all Christians in their dying moments. And yet we mean to say that the highest degree is attainable.

* * * * *

"The useful death, however, is not that only which abounds with ecstasy and rapture; but also that in which an inferior degree of confidence is blended with patience under suffering, submission to the will of God, humbleness of mind, penitence at the foot of the cross, a concern to recommend the Saviour's service and to promote his cause. This, if it does not excite so much wonder and discourse, is more exemplary. A death, too, strikes us where we see a victory over the world; when the individual is willing to depart, though not pressed by the infirmities and pains of age; but in the midst of life: and leaving not a scene of penury and wretchedness behind, but every present attraction and agreeable prospect. We also prize a death preceded by a holy and consistent life."

With these remarks we pass to the death of Washington. Of that event we have but one account in any degree extended or minute. This is from the pen of Mr. Tobias Lear, for some years his private Secretary, and connected by marriage with a branch of his family. The account is here copied as leading to reflections appropriate to the subject.

"On Thursday, Dec. 12, 1799, the General rode out to his farms at about ten o'clock, and did not return till past three. Soon after he went out, the weather became very bad; rain, hail, and snow falling alternately, with a cold wind. When he came in, I carried some letters to him to frank, intending to send them to the post-office.

He franked the letters, but said the weather was too bad to send a servant to the office that evening. I observed to him that I was afraid he had got wet ; he said no ; his great coat had kept him dry : but his neck appeared to be wet—the snow was hanging on his hair.

" He came to dinner without changing his dress. In the evening he appeared as well as usual. A heavy fall of snow took place on Friday, which prevented the General from riding out as usual. He had taken cold, (undoubtedly from being so much exposed the day before,) and complained of having a sore throat ; he had a hoarseness, which increased in the evening, but he made light of it, as he would never take any thing to carry off a cold—always observing, ' let it go as it came.' In the evening, the papers having come from the post-office, he sat in the room with Mrs. Washington and myself, reading them till about nine o'clock ; and when he met with any thing which he thought diverting or interesting, he would read it aloud. He desired me to read to him the debates of the Virginia assembly on the election of a senator and governour, which I did. On his retiring to bed he appeared to be in perfect health, except the cold, which he considered as trifling ; he had been remarkably cheerful all the evening.

" About two or three o'clock on Saturday morning, he awoke Mrs. Washington, and informed her that he felt very unwell, and had an ague. She observed that he could scarcely speak, and breathed with difficulty, and she wished to get up and call a servant ; but he would not permit her lest she should take cold. As soon as the day appeared, the woman, Caroline, went into the room to make a fire, and the General desired that Mr.

Rawlins, one of the overseers, who was used to bleeding the people, might be sent for to bleed him before the doctor could arrive. I was sent for—went to the General's chamber, where Mrs. Washington was up, and related to me his being taken ill between two and three o'clock, as before stated. I found him breathing with difficulty, and hardly able to utter a word intelligibly. I went out instantly, and wrote a line to Dr. Plask, and sent it with all speed. Immediately I returned to the General's chamber, where I found him in the same situation I had left him. A mixture of molasses, vinegar, and butter, was prepared, but he could not swallow a drop; whenever he attempted he was distressed, convulsed and almost suffocated.

"Mr. Rawlins came in soon after sunrise and prepared to bleed him; when the arm was ready, the General, observing Rawlins appeared agitated, said, with difficulty, 'don't be afraid'; and after the incision was made, he observed the orifice was not large enough: however, the blood ran pretty freely. Mrs. Washington, not knowing whether bleeding was proper in the General's situation, begged that much might not be taken from him, and desired me to stop it. When I was about to untie the string, the General put up his hand to prevent it, and, as soon as he could speak, said 'more.'

"Mrs. Washington still uneasy lest too much blood should be drawn, it was stopped after about half a pint had been taken. Finding that no relief was obtained from bleeding, and that nothing could be swallowed, I proposed bathing the throat externally with sal volatile, which was done; a piece of flannel was then put round his neck. His feet were also soaked in warm water, but

this gave no relief. By Mrs. Washington's request I despatched a messenger for Dr. Brown, at Port Tobacco. About nine o'clock Dr. Craik arrived, and put a blister of cantharides on the throat of the General, and took more blood, and had some vinegar and hot water set in a tea-pot, for him to draw in the steam from the spout.

" He also had sage tea and vinegar mixed, and used as a gargle, but when he held back his head to let it run down, it almost produced suffocation. When the mixture came out of his mouth some phlegm followed it, and he would attempt to cough, which the doctor encouraged, but without effect. About eleven o'clock, Dr. Dick was sent for: Dr. Craik bled the General again; no effect was produced, and he continued in the same state, unable to swallow any thing. Dr. Dick came in about three o'clock, and Dr. Brown arrived soon after; when, after consultation, the General was bled again: the blood ran slowly, appeared very thick, and did not produce any symptoms of fainting. At four o'clock the General could swallow a little. Calomel and tartar emetic were administered without effect. About half-past four o'clock he requested me to ask Mrs. Washington to come to his bed-side, when he desired her to go down to his room, and take from his desk two wills which she would find there, and bring them to him, which she did. Upon looking at one, which he observed was useless, he desired her to burn it, which she did. After this was done, I returned again to his bed-side and took his hand. He said to me, 'I find I am going—my breath cannot continue long—I believed from the first attack it would be fatal. Do you arrange and record all my military letters and papers; arrange my accounts, and settle my

books, as you know more about them than any one else ; and let Mr. Rawlins finish recording my other letters, which he has begun.' He asked when Mr. Lewis and Washington would return ? I told him that I believed about the twentieth of the month. He made no reply.

"The physicians came in between five and six o'clock, and when they came to his bed-side, Dr. Craik asked him if he would sit up in the bed : he held out his hand to me and was raised up, when he said to the physician—'I feel myself going ; you had better not take any more trouble about me, but let me go off quietly ; I cannot last long.' They found what had been done was without effect ; he laid down again, and they retired, excepting Dr. Craik. He then said to him, 'Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go ; I believed from the first I should not survive it ; my breath cannot last long.' The doctor pressed his hand, but could not utter a word ; he retired from the bed-side and sat by the fire absorbed in grief. About eight o'clock, the physicians again came into the room, and applied blisters to his legs, but went out without a ray of hope. From this time he appeared to breathe with less difficulty than he had done, but was very restless, continually changing his position, to endeavour to get ease. I aided him all in my power, and was gratified in believing he felt it ; for he would look upon me with eyes speaking gratitude, but unable to utter a word without great distress. About ten o'clock he made several attempts to speak to me before he could effect it ; at length he said, 'I am just going. Have me decently buried, and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than two days after I am dead.' I bowed assent. He looked at me again and said, 'Do you understand

me?' I replied, 'Yes, Sir.' 'Tis well,' said he. About ten minutes before he expired, his breathing became much easier: he lay quietly: he withdrew his hand from mine, and felt his own pulse. I spoke to Dr. Craik, who sat by the fire; he came to the bed-side. The General's hand fell from his wrist; I took it in mine, and placed it on my breast. Dr. Craik placed his hands over his eyes; and he expired without a struggle or a sigh."

The above contains no doubt an accurate relation as far as it goes, of the circumstances attending the last sickness and death of Washington. That the account is not perfect, we believe, however, to be equally certain. We are assured on good evidence, that some things of interest were overlooked, or at least omitted by the writer. It is indeed a matter of regret that the individuals who attended the Father of his Country in his last moments, were not such as would most readily encourage the expression of his religious feelings, or carefully record them when uttered. The author of the memoranda, it is known, had but little sympathy with the illustrious subject of his narrative in reference to religion; nor had his other attendants, it is believed, any more, at least at that time, though professionally eminent and distinguished men. It was probably thought, that this was not the point of highest worth and dignity in his noble character; and therefore not to be displayed with very special care and effort. This may explain in some measure the omission of interesting remarks and occurrences, as being, from their nature, undervalued or misunderstood. Such facts, therefore, as are known to have

transpired, in addition to those recorded by Mr. Lear, shall be here inserted for the gratification and instruction of our readers.

One of the Rectors of Mount Vernon parish, already referred to, and who was at much pains to ascertain the most interesting events of Washington's life and death, informs us, in remarking on the latter occurrence, that he was once or twice heard to say, "I should have been glad, had it pleased God, to die a little easier, but I doubt not it is for my good."

On the same authority we learn that "some hours before his departure, he made the request that every person would leave the room, that he might be alone for a short time."

The same writer says, that in the moment of death, "he closed his eyes for the last time with his own hands—folded his arms decently on his breast, then breathing out '*Father of mercies, take me to thyself*'—he fell asleep."

The biographer of Mrs. Washington gives the following facts:—

"The illness [of Washington] was short and severe. Mrs. Washington left not the chamber of the sufferer, but was seen kneeling at the bed-side, her head resting upon her Bible, which had been her solace in the many and heavy afflictions she had undergone. The last effort of the expiring Washington, was worthy of the Roman fame of his life and character. He raised himself up, and casting a look of benignity on all around him, as if to thank them for their kindly attentions, he composed his limbs, closed his eyes, and fold-

ing his arms upon his bosom, the Father of his Country expired, gently as though an infant died !

“ The afflicted relict could with difficulty be removed from the chamber of death, to which she returned no more, but occupied other apartments for the residue of her days.”

That the circumstances now detailed, may be duly appreciated, the habitual thoughtfulness of Washington respecting his latter end, may not be unseasonably considered, in connexion with remarks to be added on the event itself.

A favourite nephew, who was much at Mount Vernon (one of those concerning whose return he made inquiries of Mr. Lear,) thus describes his last interview with his revered kinsman.

“ During this, my last visit to the General, we walked together about the grounds, and talked of various improvements he had in contemplation. The lawn was to be extended down to the river in the direction of the old vault, which was to be removed on account of the inroads made by the roots of the trees, with which it is crowned, which caused it to leak. ‘ I intend to place it there,’ said he, pointing to the place where the new vault now stands. *‘ First of all I shall make this change; for after all I may require it before the rest.’*

“ When I parted from him he stood on the steps of the front door, where he took leave of myself and another, and wished us a pleasant journey, as I was going to Westmoreland on business. It was a bright frosty morning; he had taken his usual ride, and the clear healthy flush on his cheek, and his sprightly

manner, brought the remark from both of us, that we had never seen the General look so well.

* * * * *

"A few days afterwards, being on my way home in company with others, whilst we were conversing about Washington, I saw a servant rapidly riding towards us. On his near approach I recognized him as belonging to Mount Vernon. He rode up—his countenance told the story—he handed me a letter. Washington was dead." *

In a private letter written on the Saturday before his death, when in perfect health, the following sentence occurs :—"For I must, *if Mrs. Washington and myself should both survive another year*, find some place to which the supernumerary hands on this Estate could be removed."

Thus habitually mindful of death, it may with reason be presumed, that he was not taken by surprise, when the enemy made his approach. Accordingly, it would appear that as soon as the disease became violent, he believed it would be fatal. He did not seek, through a fond desire of life, to delude himself with hopes of recovery ; but resigned himself at once to the will of God, requesting that no more trouble might be taken with him, as he wished to die quietly.

We learn from a memorandum of Mr. Lear that he said during the day : "Doctor, I die hard, *but I am not afraid to go.*" In the view of death the pious monarch of Israel expressed himself in corresponding terms : "Though I walk through the valley of the sha-

* Life of Washington, by J. K. Paulding. 2 Vol. pp. 196. 197.

dow of death, *I will fear no evil*, for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." Whence the absence of fear from the bosom of Washington, whilst his body was racked with pain, and eternity opening before him? Was it blindness of mind—a low estimate of sin—an inadequate sense of accountability? Or was it rather the result of confidence in the mercy of God, assured to mankind through Him whom he was accustomed to regard as the "Divine Author of our blessed religion?" We cannot doubt but that his remarkable composure, under so sudden a visitation, had its origin in a comfortable sense of the Divine goodness, and his own readiness for the great change which was at hand. That Saviour, who in pardoning sin deprives death of its sting, and the grave of its victory, was surely his dependance and source of his affectionate gratitude to ministering friends, and his humble resignation to the Divine will and pleasure.

To what but an evangelical source can we refer the language used by him in reference to his dying pains? "*I should have been glad, had it pleased God, to die a little easier, but I doubt not it is for my good.*" In what way was such an end to be answered? How should his sufferings be for his good? It was in one way only that they could be so. They could only exert a salutary influence on his *spiritual state and prospects*. The language of the Scriptures is: "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not." Again, it is written: "For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh

for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory ; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen ; for the things which are seen are temporal ; but the things which are not seen are eternal." With what other views than these, could the dying Washington regard his sufferings as useful to him ? Without the light which religion shed upon the painful dispensation under which he was suffering unto death, the profoundest gloom would have enveloped his mind, and filled him with a sense of unmixed evil in the bitter cup, he was draining to the dregs. But Faith turned his eye from things seen, to things unseen ; and in the assurance that the first were "temporal," whilst the last were "eternal," enabled the possessor, though in much affliction of body, to cheer himself with the happy conviction that "*it was for his good.*"

The request made by the sufferer "*to be left alone for a short time,*" is not less pregnant with important meaning than the language just considered. Prayer had been a confirmed habit of his life. From youth to old age he had never omitted the duty. It had been a cherished resource with him in the many difficulties and trials of his varied course. The most serious of all trials now oppressed him. He was about to close his earthly race. The world was receding from his sight, and the solemn realities of Eternity rising on his view. In a short time the mystic tie which bound him to this world would be dissolved, and his future condition be unalterably fixed. What more natural, under such circumstances, than prayer, to him who had always prayed before ! He would surely desire now, once more, before

he left the world, and appeared before the judgment-seat of Christ, to pour out his soul in earnest supplication for himself, his friends, and all mankind.

But why desire to be perfectly alone in order to this duty? Might he not have engaged therein with all necessary privacy, though others were near? Could any witness the secret thoughts and emotions of the heart? However this may be, we yet know that the sick are always liable to interruptions from the tender solicitude and vigilant kindness of surrounding friends. Washington was so exposed, and no doubt desired that his last approach to the throne of grace should be made with due solemnity, and undisturbed. He was moreover much averse to every thing like ostentation in religion, and knew he could not, in the act of prayer, escape observation in the presence of others. It had also been a custom with him in his secret devotions to pray audibly, as mentioned in a former part of this work. This may have had its influence with him, and rendered the absence of his attendants desirable.

The presence of Mrs. Washington, and her attitude of mingled piety and grief, in the chamber of death, have been cited. "She left not the chamber of the sufferer, but was seen kneeling at the bed-side, her head reclining upon her Bible." In reference to this circumstance, we are induced to inquire the end for which the Sacred Volume had been placed upon the dying bed of Washington. Was it for the calm perusal and consolation of the afflicted wife? We think not. We should regard it most improbable that such should have been the object. In cases of dangerous sickness, the attention of near relatives is usually quite absorbed by sympathy

with their suffering friends. The wife especially, where her husband is the victim of alarming disease, is on the alert in doing whatever may alleviate his pains and arrest the malady. To his condition and his wants she is all eye, all ear. Whilst he is in danger, she knows neither weariness or faintness of mind. In the case before us, sickness and death had entered the domestic circle with unwonted surprise. Great must have been the shock to a wife so affectionate and devoted as Mrs. Washington. If, therefore, she might have stolen a moment for throwing herself before the Mercy-Seat, and begging for a life so dear to her, it is scarcely probable that she would have thought it her duty or could have commanded tranquillity enough, to engage in the work of reading and meditating in God's Word. It is far more likely that her conjugal zeal and tenderness would induce an attempt, in an hour so trying, to soothe the mind, and fortify the faith of her dying husband, by reading to him some of the precious promises and consoling truths of the Inspired Volume. Often had he, in the same chamber, and perhaps from the same Bible, read portions of the Divine Word, for their mutual comfort and edification. She will now repay the debt of kindness when it is most required. To such an effort of devoted affection, painful as it may be, the heroism of female piety is often equal. It was so, we believe, in the instance under consideration.

As the hour of his departure drew near, every thing else being arranged and settled, and nothing left undone, the expiring chief turns his busy thoughts upon the funeral offices awaiting his mortal remains. Addressing Mr. Lear, his constant attendant, he said:—"I am just

going. Have me decently buried ; and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than two days after I am dead."

The composure and serenity evinced in this direction is sufficiently apparent. But what did he mean by being "*decently buried?*" He probably referred to the customary religious solemnities. There was little danger of any thing else being neglected. The circumstances under which he met his end precluded the possibility of those offices of the church, appropriate to the bed of death. He would not, however, have the funeral rites omitted ; regarding them as necessary to a "decent" interment.

The last words which Washington uttered were these:—"T IS WELL." Fearing that his last request was not comprehended, he asked if he was understood. Being answered in the affirmative, he said, "'T is well." Every thing now was finished. He had done with this world ; he is ready to die ; and he closes his intercourse with earth in the language of satisfaction and contentment. Speaking as he did with great difficulty, it is probable that these were not mere words of course, uttered without particular meaning. He intended, most likely, to express his perfect acquiescence in his death, and every thing connected with it ; that his mind was at rest—that every thing was right—that all was well. One cannot but remember in this connexion, a similar expression of humble submission under affliction in the case of a pious Scripture worthy. When death bereaved the Shunamite woman of her only child, she forthwith repaired to the Prophet Elisha at Mount Carmel. When he saw her coming in haste, he said

to his servant; “Run now, I pray thee, to meet her, and say unto her, “Is it well with thee? Is it well with thy husband? Is it well with the child?” And she answered, “*It is well.*” Though her child was dead, yet she says “*It is well.*” It was the Lord’s doing; therefore she acquiesced, and commended the dispensation as right in itself. And thus testified the renowned Sufferer of the land of Uz. When oppressed with a sore affliction “he fell upon the earth and worshipped, and said, Naked came I out of my mother’s womb, and naked shall I return thither: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord. In all this,” adds the sacred writer, “Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly.” His pious resignation was virtually expressed in the words, “*It is well.*”

Mr. Lear, in his description of the closing scene, has these words:—“Dr. Craik placed his hands over his eyes; and he expired without a struggle or a sigh.” This statement is no doubt true, but it does not contain the whole truth. It was said and believed at the time, that General Washington closed his own eyes; and the writer is assured that such was the fact, since he heard it asserted by one who had the best opportunity of knowing the certainty of it. The matter, indeed, is one of no great importance; but serves to show that some things escaped the notice of Mr. Lear, or were thought too trivial for record by him. This circumstance, however, is not without interest, as indicating a perfect self-possession and composure of mind. It was of a piece with the act nearly simultaneous, of feeling his own pulse. After this he lingered but a few moments;—the

curtain of time was drawn to him, and he passed quickly through the gates of Eternity, into the presence of his Maker and his Judge.

He died on Saturday night, 14th of December. On Wednesday the 18th, his body, attended by military honours and the offices of religion, was placed in the family vault.

It has engaged the notice and remark of some, that no spiritual attendance or service distinguished the last sickness of Washington—that there was no minister of Christ with him, nor any of the offices of the church administered in aid of his faith and hope. Whatever may have been his views or wishes in reference to this particular religious privilege, it is very certain, that it would have been next to impossible for him, had he desired it, to have been gratified. He did not survive twenty-four hours from the time of his attack. Of that period there was not more than ten hours of day-light. It was also the depth of winter; and the earth was covered with a heavy snow. Nor was there a clergyman within a less distance than nine miles of Mount Vernon. The General, moreover, was dying through a greater part of the day. He considered himself to be going before others did. In these things alone, we think, a sufficient reason will be found for the alleged omission, no matter how great the importance attached to the observances in question. That they were not undervalued by the subject of these pages we have sufficient reason for believing. But the circumstances of his dying lot, rendered it impossible to evince his estimation of them, whatever that may have been.*

* The subjoined notice of the death of Mrs. Washington may
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Thus did the Father of his Country meet a sudden, though not an untimely end. He had lived to fulfil the exalted purposes of his creation. The measure of his distinguished usefulness was full. At a period of high political excitement and temptation was he taken away. In his removal, he left behind him a name of surpassing moral weight—as unimpaired in death, as in life. Since living, he conferred on others so much good ; and dying, bequeathed them so many blessings ; we cannot but cherish the grateful assurance, that the stroke which severed the mortal tie, dismissed him also from every care and pain, the heir of a happy immortality. In this belief and holy confidence, no doubt, did his chosen successor at Mount Vernon, cause the entrance of his lowly sepulchre to be adorned with the animating declaration of

not be here inappropriate. It is taken from the Alexandria Advertiser of May, 1802.—

On Saturday the 22d of May, at 12 o'clock, P. M. *Mrs. Washington* terminated her well-spent life. Composure and resignation were uniformly displayed during seventeen days depredations of a severe fever. From the commencement she declared that she was undergoing the final trial, and had long been prepared for her dissolution. *She took the sacrament from Dr. Davis, (Rector of Christ Church, Alexandria,) imparted her last advice and benediction to her weeping relations ; and sent for a white gown, which she had previously laid by for her last dress.* Thus, in the closing scene, as in all the preceding ones, nothing was omitted. The conjugal, maternal, and domestic duties had all been fulfilled in an exemplary manner. She was the worthy partner of the worthiest of men, and those who witnessed their conduct could not determine which excelled in their different characters ; both were so well sustained on every occasion. They lived an honour and a pattern to their country, and are taken from us to receive the rewards promised to the faithful and just."

the Divine Redeemer :—"I am the resurrection, and the life : he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live : and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die."—May the issues of the Last Day abundantly confirm the pious hopes of such as loved him in life, and honoured him in death.

CHAPTER XVIII.

POSTHUMOUS HONOURS.

THE death of Washington, unexpected as it was by his fellow-citizens, produced a sensation among them, resembling the shock which agitates the members of a family circle, suddenly bereaved of a beloved parent. The melancholy tidings, borne as it were on the wings of the wind, spread with the velocity of a dark cloud, which, rising in some distant corner of the heavens, soon covers all the land with gloom and terror. One feeling pervaded every section of the country, followed by a spontaneous movement among the people, in manifestation of an unfeigned sorrow for his death, and their high appreciation of his illustrious services and distinguished personal excellence. A system of public mourning was unanimously adopted by all classes of the community, in which, Congress, then in session, took the lead. By every suitable and appropriate method was the general feeling declared, but chiefly by funeral eulogies and orations, pronounced in all the principal towns and cities of the Union by eminent individuals, designated for the purpose by the public voice.

In the various productions of the pen, to which these

appointments gave rise, we have many valuable testimonies to the excellent character, as well as brilliant deeds of the illustrious dead ;—testimonies the more important as proceeding from his cotemporaries. The writers were in many instances, the personal acquaintances of the departed chief, and all of them had either seen him, or had taken much interest in acquiring an accurate knowledge of his principles and conduct.

It is here proposed to select from some of the addresses, as published at the time of their delivery, those parts containing particular allusion to his moral and religious character. The value of the testimony, to our readers, will not be diminished by the fact, that the work which contains it, is now out of print.

The first oration delivered on the sad occasion, was by Gen. H. Lee. It was pronounced by request of, and in presence of, both Houses of Congress. We give the following brief extract :—

“First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life. *Pious, just, humane, temperate and sincere; uniform, dignified, and commanding,* his example was as edifying to all around him, as were the effects of that example lasting.

“To his equals he was condescending, to his inferiors kind, and to the dear object of his affections, exemplarily tender. Correct throughout, vice shuddered in his presence, and virtue always felt his fostering hand. The purity of his private character gave effulgence to his public virtues.

“His last scene comported with the whole tenor of his life. Although in extreme pain, not a sigh, not a

groan escaped him ; and with undisturbed serenity he closed his well-spent life. Such was the man America has lost ! Such was the man for whom our nation mourns ! ” *Delivered, December 26, 1799.*

“ The private virtues of this great man, exactly corresponded with those exhibited in public life.

“ His mansion was the seat of hospitality. He was idolized by his domestics ; by his neighbours and friends, esteemed and venerated : and it is worthy of remark, that all who best knew him, particularly those who were more immediately attached to his person in the course of the war, and during his civil administration, are among his warmest admirers and panegyrists.

“ There was a gravity and reserve, indeed, in his countenance and deportment, partly national, and partly the effect of habitual cares for the public weal ; but these were wholly unmixed with the least austerity or moroseness.

“ True native dignity was happily blended with the most placid mildness and condescension. He was a pattern of moderation, meekness, and self-possession. No person ever existed who had his passions under more complete control.

“ To crown all these moral virtues, he had the deepest sense of religion impressed on his heart ; the true foundation-stone of all the moral virtues. This he constantly manifested on all proper occasions. He was a firm believer in the Christian religion ; and, at his first entrance on his civil administration, he made it known, and adhered to his purpose, that no secular business could be transacted with him on the day set apart by Christians for the worship of the Deity.

"Though he was from principle, a member of the Episcopal church, he was candid and liberal in the highest degree, not only to all sects and denominations of Christians, but to all religions, where the professors were sincere, throughout the world.*

"He constantly attended the public worship of God on the Lord's day, was a communicant at his table, and by his devout and solemn deportment, inspired every beholder with some portion of that awe and reverence for the Supreme Being, of which he felt so large a portion.

"For my own part, I trust I shall never lose the impression made on my own mind, in beholding, in this house of prayer, the venerable hero, the victorious leader of our hosts, bending in humble adoration to the God of armies, and great Captain of our salvation ! Hard and unfeeling, indeed, must that heart be, that could sustain the sight unmoved, or its owner depart unsoftened and unedified.

"Let the deist reflect on this, and remember that WASHINGTON, the saviour of his country, did not disdain to acknowledge and adore a greater Saviour, whom deists and infidels affect to slight and despise.

"Thus have I attempted, with trembling hand and overburthened heart, to exhibit a few brief sketches of

* That Washington was not indifferent about error in religion, as the above language might imply, let the following charge to General Arnold, when that officer was about to march into Canada, attest :

"I also give it in charge to you to avoid all disrespect of the religion of the country, and its ceremonies. Prudence, policy, and a true Christian spirit will lead us to look with compassion upon *their errors* without insulting them," &c.

the life, and to delineate a faint portrait of the character, of this unrivalled hero, sage, and Christian. None will think the picture overstrained, or charge me with flattering the dead. Alas! the admirable original is far removed above all earthly praise or censure. And tell me, my audience, have you ever heard or read of any character, ancient or modern, in all respects comparable to this wonderful man's, whose loss has filled a world with tears? I could almost venture to pronounce, that all antiquity cannot boast a parallel; unless, perhaps, the great legislator of the Jewish nation, may be deemed an exception.

"In contemplating the lives and characters of these two eminent servants of the most High, I think I can trace no inconsiderable resemblance between them. Will you indulge me, while I attempt a parallel between the leader of the armies of Israel, and the leader of the armies of America?

"Did the former appear destined by Heaven to make a nation great, independent, and happy? So did the latter. Did the former give early presages of this, in defending his countrymen against lawless violence and oppression? We have seen that the latter did the same. Was the former an invincible hero, a wise legislator, an able statesman, and an upright judge? All these characters as truly belonged to the latter. Did the leader of the hosts of Israel deliver that nation from Egyptian bondage? So did WASHINGTON ours, from the galling yoke of British tyranny. Was the former an early and shining example of piety and all the moral virtues? So was the latter. Did the former blend uncommon meekness with undaunted bravery, and the most persevering fortitude?

tude? Our leader and guide, in the most eminent degree, did the same.

“Was the meek prophet of Israel but once provoked to *act* with rashness at Sinai’s base, and once to *speak* unadvisedly at the rock of Horeb? Our patient hero did only the latter once on the plains of Monmouth. Was the former often rashly censured by some of his perverse countrymen? How far the parallel holds just here, let others determine. Was the former found faithful in all things? Equally so was the latter. After rescuing a nation from slavery, did the former lead them to the very borders of the promised land? WASHINGTON did more; he put us into the full possession of the heritage of our fathers. Did the former demand or receive no compensation for his invaluable services? So neither did the disinterested patriot of America. At the close of his days, was the Hebrew leader unimpaired and vigorous in all his faculties? Our benefactor and father was equally so, except that his corporeal optics were dimmed by incessant labours and nocturnal vigils, while his mental vision, as if purged with ‘euphrasy and rue,’ was strengthened and refined.

“In one instance the parallel seems to fail. The former was blessed with offspring. Those tender pledges of connubial bliss were indeed denied to the latter; yet weeping millions in him have lost a father, while he has obtained ‘a name far better than that of sons and of daughters.’

“Finally, did that eminent leader of the chosen seed, having finished his course with joy, die honoured by God, beloved of man, and universally lamented? So has the leader whose loss we are called upon this day

with heart-felt anguish to deplore." *Pronounced at PORTSMOUTH, N. H. Dec. 31, 1799, by J.M. Sewall, Esq.*

"Enemies he had, but they were few, and chiefly of the same family with the man, who could not bear to hear Aristides always called the just. Among them all, I have never heard of one who charged him with any habitual vice, or even foible. There are few men of any kind, and still fewer of those the world calls great, who have not some of their virtues eclipsed by corresponding vices. But this was not the case with General WASHINGTON. *He had religion without austerity ; dignity without pride ; modesty without diffidence ; courage without rashness ; politeness without affectation ; affability without familiarity.* His private character, as well as his public one, will bear the strictest scrutiny. He was punctual in all his engagements ; upright and honest in his dealings ; temperate in his enjoyments ; liberal and hospitable to an eminent degree ; a lover of order ; systematical and methodical in all his arrangements. *He was the friend of morality and religion ; steadily attended on public worship ; encouraged and strengthened the hands of the clergy.* In all his public acts he made the most respectful mention of Providence, and in a word, carried the spirit of piety with him, both in his private life and public administration. He was far from being one of those minute philosophers, who believe that "death is an eternal sleep ;" or of those, who, trusting to the sufficiency of human reason, discard the light of Divine Revelation.

* * * * *

" Possessing an ample unencumbered fortune ; happy

at home in the most pleasing domestic connexions ; what but love of country could have induced him to accept the command of the American army in 1775 ? Could it be hatred of Great-Britain ? He then ardently loved her, and panted for a reconciliation with her. Could it be partiality for a military life ? He was then in the 41st year of his age, when a fondness for camps generally abates. Could it be love of fame ? The whole tenor of his life forbids us to believe, that he was ever under the undue influence of this passion. Fame followed him, but he never pursued it. Could it have been the love of power ? They who best knew the undissembled wishes of his heart, will all tell you, with what reluctance he was dragged from a private station, and with what ineffable delight he returned to it. Had he not voluntarily declined it, he would have died your President. Others have resigned high stations from disgust ; but he retired at rather an early period of old age, while his faculties were strong, and his health not much impaired, and when the great body of the people sincerely loved him, and ardently wished for his re-election. Could it have been the love of money that induced him to accept the command of the American army ? No such thing. When he was appointed Commander-in-Chief, Congress made him a handsome allowance ; but in his acceptance of the command, he declared, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted him to accept the arduous employment, at the expense of his domestic ease and happiness, he did not wish to make any profit from it."

"I will keep," said he, "an exact account of my expenses ; these, I doubt not, you will discharge, and that

is all I desire," &c. *Delivered at CHARLESTON, S. C.*
Jan. 15, 1800, By DAVID RAMSAY, M.D.

"With what unshaken firmness, with what unerring fidelity, he executed the fearful duties of his station, it is thy business, *History!* to pronounce to future generations; thy work is already begun; and when the story is complete, it will be the largest, and the most instructive volume, in thy archives. In vain may thy Plutarch and Polybius vaunt their Alexanders, their Hannibals, their Scipios and Cesars; all their boasted virtues would but serve as an appendix to the biography of our WASHINGTON. Faithful Clio! thou who presidest in the registry of human transactions, thy book and thy trumpet, which have been wont to report the deeds of *heroic murderers*, are now required for a new and more grateful employment; before thou writest the name of WASHINGTON, well mayest thou tear from thy records the pages on which are inscribed the inevitable follies and crimes of mankind; well mayest thou now exult; there has once lived a man, who had power without ambition, glory without arrogance, fame without infatuation; a man, who united the meekness of a Christian, with the influence of a despot; a man, whose heart did not sink by misfortune, and whose head became more steady by elevation; a man, who saved a country by his valour, and could receive its praises without assumption.

"It was the sentiment of a very profound writer, 'that all human advantages confer more power of doing evil than good.' To this opinion, founded on the degeneracy of our nature, common experience had given almost the authority of a maxim; but the degrading principle, like almost every other, deduced from the frailty, the imbeci-

lity of man, was precisely reversed in the character of WASHINGTON. All his advantages, all his powers, extensive as they were, and in other hands, destructive as they might have been, by a kind of supernatural agency, seemed to have been directed to but one and the best of purposes; the welfare of his country and the glory of his God." *Eulogy by George Blake, Esq.*

"It is natural that the gratitude of mankind should be drawn to their benefactors. A number of these have successively arisen, who were no less distinguished for the elevation of their virtues, than the lustre of their talents. Of those, however, who were born, and who acted through life as if they were born, not for themselves, but for their country and the whole human race, how few, alas! are recorded in the long annals of ages; and how wide the intervals of time and space that divide them! In all this dreary length of way, they appear like five or six light-houses on as many thousand miles of coast: they gleam upon the surrounding darkness with an inextinguishable splendour, like stars seen through a mist; but they are seen like stars, to cheer, to guide, and to save. WASHINGTON is now added to that small number. Already he attracts curiosity, like a newly discovered star whose benignant light will travel on to the world's and time's farthest bounds. Already his name is hung up by history, as conspicuously as if it sparkled in one of the constellations of the sky.

"By commemorating his death, we are called this day to yield the homage that is due to virtue; to confess the common debt of mankind, as well as our own; and to pronounce for posterity, now dumb, that eulogium

which they will delight to echo ten ages hence, when we are dumb.

" I consider myself not merely in the midst of the citizens of this town, [Boston,] or even of the State. In idea, I gather around me the nation. In the vast and venerable congregation of the patriots of all countries, and of all enlightened men, I would, if I could, raise my voice, and speak to mankind in a strain worthy of my audience, and as elevated as my subject. But how shall I express emotions that are condemned to be mute, because they are unutterable ? I felt, and I was witness, on the day when the news of his death reached us, to the throes of that grief that saddened every countenance, and wrung drops of agony from the heart. Sorrow laboured for utterance, but found none. Every man looked round for the consolation of other men's tears. But what consolation ! Each face was convulsed with sorrow for the past ; every heart shivered with despair for the future. The man who, and who alone, united all hearts, was dead—dead, at the moment when his power to do good was the greatest, and when the aspect of the imminent public dangers seemed more than ever to render his aid indispensable, and his loss irreparable : irreparable ; for two WASHINGTONS come not in one age.

" A grief so thoughtful, so profound, so mingled with tenderness and admiration, so interwoven with our national self-love, so often revived by being diffused, is not to be expressed. You have assigned me a task that is impossible.

" ,O if I could perform it ; if I could illustrate his principles in my discourse, as he displayed them in his

life ; if I could paint his virtues as he practised them ; if I could convert the fervid enthusiasm of my heart into the talent to transmit his fame, as it ought to pass, to posterity ; I should be the successful organ of your will, the minister of his virtues, and, may I dare to say, the humble partaker of his immortal glory. These are ambitious, deceiving hopes, and I reject them. For it is perhaps almost as difficult, at once with judgment and feeling, to praise great actions, as to perform them. A lavish and undistinguishing eulogium is not praise ; and to discriminate such excellent qualities as were characteristic and peculiar to him, would be to raise a name, as he raised it, above envy, above parallel—perhaps, for this very reason, above emulation.

“ Such a portraying of character, however, must be addressed to the understanding, and therefore, even if it were well executed, would seem to be rather an analysis of moral principles, than the recital of a hero’s exploits. It would rather conciliate confidence and esteem, than kindle enthusiasm and admiration. It would be a picture of WASHINGTON, and like a picture, flat as the canvass ; like a statue, cold as the marble on which he is represented ; cold, alas ! as his corpse in the ground. Ah ! how unlike the man, late warm with living virtues, animated by the soul once glowing with patriotic fires ! He is gone ! The tomb hides all that the world could scarce contain, and that once was WASHINGTON, except his glory ; *that* is the rich inheritance of his country : and his example ; *that* let us endeavour, by delineating, to impart to mankind. Virtue will place it in her temple, Wisdom in her treasury.” *Pronounced in Boston, before his Honour the Lieutenant-Governour, the Council, &c. on 8th Feb. 1800, By FISHER AMES.*

"In WASHINGTON occurred a union rarely to be found, of greatness and goodness. Courage, wisdom, and magnanimity, those eminent qualities, which embrace the whole community in their operation, were not those only which distinguished his character. He was equally remarkable for the less splendid, though not less amiable virtues, which more immediately respected himself, his family and friends. However the abundance of his means, or his long and familiar intercourse with the world, might have exposed him to temptation, he preserved his morals not only pure, but even unsullied, by the breath of suspicion. However the applause of mankind, and the wealth and honours which fortune no longer blind bestowed on him with a liberal hand, might have attached him to the world, he never forgot that he was mortal, and destined to another state of existence. *In him religion was a steady principle of action.* It not only taught him fortitude in danger, and patience under misfortunes, but instructed him in the yet harder lesson of moderation, of even humility in the full swell of prosperity. How often does history inform us of commanders, transported with success, and grown giddy in its eddies, forgetting their dependence, and arrogating even divine honours! As a counterpart to this, our annals may record the concluding passage of the general orders, published on the surrender of Yorktown; "Divine service shall be performed to-morrow, in the different brigades and divisions. The Commander-in-Chief recommends, that all the troops that are not upon duty, do assist at it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart, which

the recollection of the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in our favour, claims."

"That WASHINGTON was affectionate and endearing in his conjugal relation, the anguish of his widowed wife sufficiently evinces. . . . That he was compassionate and humane, is honourably told by the tears of his disconsolate domestics. That he was benevolent, his emancipated slaves will long remember, and even their posterity acknowledge with gratitude."—Pronounced at BOSTON, February 11th, 1800. By J. BIGELOW, Esq.

"These expressions of his sentiments and views indicate the character which he would probably prefer to sustain; not merely that of a warrior, or statesman; but as the enlightened friend of man, and all his best enjoyments: *the advocate of religion*: the supporter of virtue: and, to adopt the language of your charter, the cultivator or patron of "every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, dignity and happiness, of a free, independent, and virtuous people."

* * * * *

"In studying the character of WASHINGTON, we cannot refrain inquiring, by what principles or motives he was thus uniformly swayed to the practice of virtue, and the steady pursuit of excellence. Much, doubtless, was due to his habitual respect for the approbation and esteem of his fellow-citizens: and in attributing the formation of his character and fame, in any degree, to this source, we pay a just tribute to his countrymen; a tribute, he was ever prompt to bestow.

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"To this motive was added that delicate and refined MORAL SENSE, which is the guardian and protectress of all the virtues: which forbids committing any thing base or unworthy; any thing unbecoming the dignity of man, a due reverence for himself, and the rank he holds in the scale of rational beings.

"But above all, he was influenced by the more permanent and operative principle of religion: by the firm and active persuasion of an ALL-SEEING, ALL-POWERFUL DEITY: by the high consciousness of future accountability, and the assured hope and prospect of immortality. Contrasting his sublime example, founded on such a basis, with the tribe of infidel heroes who have lately appeared on the bloody theatre of Europe, we cannot but apply the impressive language of a sober and intelligent heathen: 'Earthquakes, lightning, storms and torrents have an amazing power: but as for Justice nothing participates of *that*, without thinking and reasoning upon God.'

"Sound science will ever be found promotive of rational religion, and the solid interests of the commonwealth: but there is a *leprosy of false knowledge*, which is akin to impiety, and saps the compacted fabric of social order. It is thus in the political system. The mild and lovely form of *true liberty*, is opposed by a harlot blustering counterfeit.

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"False philosophy is indeed the deceitful, Delilah which will enervate and corrupt the strongest establishments, and deliver them, nerveless and resistless, to the *Philistines of Infidelity*, the Lords of Anarchy and Misrule: but sound Science, with rational Religion,

will be the firm supporters of the Magistracy to the latest time; as Aaron and Hur sustained the hands of Moses, *until the going down of the sun.*"—*Pronounced at BOSTON, February 19th, 1800, before the AMERICAN ACADEMY of ARTS and SCIENCES, By JOHN DAVIS, Member of the Academy, &c.*

"This solemn assembly, and these sable, ensigns proclaim no common grief. Already has every American wept; already have the sad funeral processions moved; and already have the virtues and services of WASHINGTON, been celebrated from the pulpit and from the rostrum.

"Why are we again assembled? And why is the tomb uncovered? It is that we may all take another look. This is the birth-day of the beloved man. Was there no other which could have been chosen than that on which we have so frequently rejoiced? It is kindly intended to give indulgence to our sorrow; to teach us that no character is exempt from the stroke of death; and especially to induce our submission to the will, and our adoration of, that Almighty Being who 'gave and who hath taken away.'

"We find from the earliest records of time, that the practice has been usual in all ages, and in all nations, of honouring those who were distinguished by their excellence, and were esteemed public blessings. Trophies have been decreed to them while living, and at their decease, their bodies have been sometimes embalmed; monuments, elegies, and funeral orations have perpetuated the memory of their honourable deeds.

"This has a happy tendency to insure a noble and virtuous conduct, and to excite the imitation of others. The love of fame, when subordinate to the general good

of mankind, is inseparable from him who is truly great ; and he carries his views beyond the grave, to the reward which posterity shall bestow. Were there then no other reason for praising the illustrious dead, this would be sufficient.

“But there is an obligation of still higher moment. Eminent men are qualified for their work by God. They are his servants. In honouring them we honour him. It is true that the heathen glorified not God, but substituted creatures in his room ; and there is danger that even we, with the clearest revelation, may be guilty of idolatry in not lifting up our hearts to Him from whom ‘cometh down every good gift, and every perfect gift.’ Let us ascribe the glory to God, and we may safely extol the man whose loss, this day, we deplore.

“America claims as her own, one who was justly the admiration of the world. And shall she be silent in his praise ? Perhaps silence would have best expressed the merits of him who is beyond all eulogy. The language of mortals can, with difficulty if ever, reach so noble a theme. The name is above what Grecian or Roman story presents, and it would require more than Grecian or Roman eloquence to do it justice. One advantage indeed it possesses, that hardly any thing can be said which will be thought extravagant ; and what would in other cases be deemed flattery, will sink far below the conceptions of the public mind. Flattery was ever confounded in the presence of WASHINGTON, nor will it dare to approach his ashes. That humility, however, which was the constant ornament of his virtues, should not now obstruct the offerings of a feeling and grateful

people at his shrine. Nay, they rush with greater eagerness to testify their sense of his transcendent and inestimable worth.

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"Though naturally reserved, yet he was not haughty. Though those who approached him felt his superiority, yet he did not assume. He blended dignity and condescension. The greatest and the smallest object received from him a due attention. He never betrayed any symptoms of vain-glory. When he was once asked, whether he had ever said, as was reported, 'that he knew no music so pleasing as the whistling of bullets,' he answered, 'If I said so, it was when I was young.'* Learning to estimate justly all human glory, and matured by experience accustomed to lofty conceptions, and moving always in the important spheres of life ; impressed with a sense that he derived all from God, and that all should be devoted to his service ; his deportment was noble, equally removed from the supercilious and the vain. Some men have been great at one time, and despicable at another ; some men have performed a single great action, and never rose to the like again ; but to him great actions seemed common. Some men have appeared great at the head of armies, or when surrounded by the trappings of power, and little when stripped of these, and alone ; some men have withstood the storms of adversity, and been melted by the sunshine of prosperity ; some men have possessed splendid public talents, and disgraced these by sordid private vices : but it is difficult to determine when and where WASHINGTON shone

* Gordon's History.

the brightest. It can only be said that he was uniformly great.

"One part of his character remains to be mentioned, and which crowns the whole ; that is, his reverence for the Sabbath, his acknowledgment of a Providence, and his attendance upon the institutions of religion. In all his public documents, God is honoured ; after deliverances or victories, thanksgivings were by his order offered ; and it is well known that he invariably attended divine worship. The foolish and wicked cant of exalting human reason, and ascribing all to fortune, received from him no countenance. Neither in the parade of military life, nor in the cares of civil administration ; neither in a state of depression, nor amidst the intoxicating sweets of power and adulation ; did he forget to pay homage to the "M^OST H^IG^H, who doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth."

"It is not wholly improbable that the fate of the unhappy Braddock, who, it is said, expressed himself in a boasting and profane manner, left on the mind of young WASHINGTON an indelible impression. 'Thus said the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might ; let not the rich man glory in his riches : but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth.'*

"Hear the testimony which WASHINGTON bore for religion on his resignation of the chief-magistracy : 'Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political

* Jer. ix. 23, 24.

prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports,' &c.* Incomparable man ! He devoted his time, his talents, and his labours to our service, and he has left his advice and his example, to us, and to all generations !

" There was in him that assemblage of qualities which constitutes real greatness ; and these qualities were remarkably adapted to the conspicuous part which he was called to perform. He was not tinsel, but gold ; not a pebble, but a diamond ; not a meteor, but a sun. Were he compared with the sages and heroes of antiquity, he would gain by the comparison ; or rather he would be found to be free from the blemishes, and to unite the excellencies of them all. Like Fabius he was prudent ; like Hannibal he was unappalled by difficulties ; like Cyrus he conciliated affection ; like Cimon he was frugal ; like Scipio he was chaste ; like Philopœmen he was humble ; and like Pompey he was successful. If we compare him with characters in the Sacred Records, he combined the exploits of Moses and Joshua, not only by conducting us safely across the Red Sea, and through the wilderness, but by bringing us into the promised land ; like David he conquered an insulting Goliath, and rose to the highest honours from a humble station ; like Hezekiah he ruled ; and like Josiah at his death, there is a mourning 'as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon.' Nor is the mourning confined to us, but extends to all the wise and good who ever heard of his name. The Generals whom he opposed, will wrap their hilts in black, and stern Cornwallis drop a tear.

* See page 74.

" He was honoured even in death. After all his fatigues, and though he had arrived near to the limit fixed for human life, yet his understanding was not impaired, nor his frame wasted by any lingering disease. We did not hear of his sickness, until we heard that he was no more. His acceptance of the office of Lieutenant-General of the armies, is a proof that 'Save my country, Heaven,' was his last. What would have been to most men the meridian of glory, was the setting sun of WASHINGTON. With an increased orb, its parting rays paint the clouds with brightest colours, and illumine all the mountain tops. In the full possession of his reason, and without fear of death, which he had often faced in the field, he breathed his mighty soul into the hands of his Almighty and merciful Creator.

" Hark!—a message from the tomb!

" *Citizens of America,*

" You are assembled to express your gratitude for services which you believe to have been rendered by me, and to testify your sorrow for my death. Next to the testimony of a good conscience, it was ever the summit of my wishes to deserve well of my country. But let your gratitude ascend to Him who fashioned me as I was, who kept me under his holy protection, and who hath in his sovereign will, recalled me from the earth. My career was much longer than might have been expected. It was anxious; it was laborious; it was wearisome—I now rest.

" Let the love you bore me, the confidence you were always pleased to repose in me, and the regard you now profess for my memory, be shown in following those admonitions which I have given you, and which I endeav-

oured to enforce by my example. Banish party interest and party spirit. Suffer no foreign influence to affect your councils. Give support and stability to your government. Honour and reward your public officers. *Pay the strictest attention to the injunctions of religion and morality.* Then under the propitious smiles of Heaven, you will long be a flourishing and happy people.”

“ Thus methinks, our deceased father addresses us this day.”—*Delivered Feb. 22d, 1800, in the City of NEW-YORK, BY WILLIAM LINN, D.D.*

“ Of his virtues it may be said, that they were the fruits of much cultivation bestowed on a good soil.

“ He very early acquired the power of submitting his passions to his reason. He practised without effort, and almost without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and sobriety. He was eminently distinguished for prudence, moderation, and equanimity of soul. He deserved the singular commendation, that instead of being corrupted by success, his virtues always expanded with his fortune : the season of his prosperity was that of his moderation.

“ Perhaps no man ever shared more largely in the public esteem, or received more flattering marks of distinction ; but was there ever one, who deserved them better, or appreciated them more justly ? His popularity was earned by virtuous deeds, and it was spent in the service of virtue.

“ In despatch of business, his diligence was indefatigable. He was remarkable for observing the most perfect order, without too rigid adherence to method, in all his concerns, public and private. This nice arrangement

of labour, and exact distribution of time, enabled him to transact an uncommon portion of business, and still left him leisure to enjoy the innocent pleasures of life. With him, every hour had its duty, and every duty its hour. How delightful that he could say at the close of his life, *I have left nothing undone.*

"His easy fortune, increased by his industry and active labours, afforded him the means, which he never failed to improve, of displaying his beneficence and generosity to those who had any claims on his bounty, or who came within the enlarged circle of his acquaintance.

"To act altogether from pure benevolence, or regard to the good of others, seems hardly compatible with human nature. The tenor of his whole life evinced, that neither vanity nor interest impelled him to action. Vanity it could not be ; for who so modest and unassuming ? It could not be interest ; for though he declined no labour, he refused all pecuniary compensation. If ambition fired his soul, it was a glorious ambition, for it saved his country.

"The person as well as the mind of our departed Chief, was enriched by nature with her choicest endowments. His stature was lofty, his countenance dignified, his deportment graceful, and his manners liberal, courteous, and refined.

"The most singular trait in the character and fortunes of this great man, remains to be mentioned ; he was neither capable of envy himself, nor the object of that passion in others. Can their be higher evidence of his superior excellence ? His character was considered a kind of public property ; every member of the community had an interest in preserving it inviolate.

"Popular applause, of all the gifts in the power of fortune to bestow, the most fickle and precarious, to him was constant, steady, and uniform as his virtues.

"Of his patriotism I need not speak. All virtues have their extremes. There is a patriotism too narrow; and the philosophy of the present day teaches one much too broad; it embraces all nations. There is also a love of liberty, which is disorderly and tumultuous. It is sufficient to say, that the patriotism of our WASHINGTON, was an ardent love of his own country; and the liberty he adored was that of which government is the guardian.

"I have reserved for the last to speak of the *religious character* of the deceased; because, like the key-stone, which completes the arch, it is this which completes the lustre of his unrivalled name.

"We have seen that his private life was marked, in an eminent degree, with the practice of the moral virtues. The maxims he prescribed for himself, as the basis of his political conduct, will bear the strictest scrutiny, when brought to the test of reason and morality.

"He taught, (and his own practice corresponded with his doctrine,) that the foundation of national policy can be laid only in the pure and immutable principles of private morality: that there exists in the economy of nature an indissoluble union between duty and advantage; between genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity: that the propitious smiles of Heaven, can never be expected on a nation, that disregards the eternal laws of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained.

"In our country there are few who will hesitate to

acknowledge the obligations we are under, to make the concerns of another world the governing principle of our lives in this; and that Christianity is the highest ornament of human nature. WASHINGTON practised upon this belief. He publicly professed the religion in which he was educated; and his life affords the best evidence of the purity of his principles, and the sincerity of his faith.

"He had all the genuine mildness of Christianity with all its force. He was neither ostentatious nor ashamed of his Christian profession. He pursued in this, as in every thing else, the happy mean between the extremes of levity and gloominess, indifference and austerity. His religion became him. He brought it with him into office, and he did not lose it there. His first and his last official acts, (as did all the intermediate ones,) contained an explicit acknowledgment of the over-ruling providence of the Supreme Being; and the most fervent supplication for his benediction on our government and nation.

"Without being charged with exaggeration, I may be permitted to say, that an accurate knowledge of his life, while it would confer on him the highest title to praise, would be productive of the most solid advantage to the cause of Christianity.

* * * * *

"There is by the irrevocable decree of Heaven, a period fixed to human greatness and human glory. The time had now arrived, that WASHINGTON must die. He could not, in the day of death, disgrace a character supported by virtue and fortitude. He who had lived without guilt, must die without remorse. But I reckon it a public blessing, and deserving our thanks to Almighty

God, that he was called to this last encounter, in the full possession and vigour of his mental powers. Highly favoured of Heaven, to him it was given, to meet the last enemy of man with the same firmness, the same fortitude, and the same reliance on heavenly aid, with which, during his life, he met the foes of his country. And who can doubt of his success in this last engagement? At this awful moment he had the singular felicity, resulting from a review of his well-spent life, that not a word had escaped his tongue, which a wise man might not utter; not a sentence dropped from his pen, which, dying, he could wish to blot; not an action performed, which prudence could condemn, nor one omitted which duty had enjoined."*—*Delivered at Exeter, N. H. Feb. 22. 1800. By J. SMITH, Esq.*

"SIXTY-EIGHT years are this day completed since the birth of GEORGE WASHINGTON, and this day we are assembled in the temple of God to pay the tribute of affection and respect due to the memory of the excellent citizen, the friend, the Father of his Country.

"Behold! this day, and at this moment, thousands and thousands, in their numerous assemblies over this extended empire, are commemorating the exalted virtues, the heroic deeds of our deceased patriot; and pouring out their souls to the Almighty, in the keenness of sorrow, for this irreparable loss, this national calamity, this visitation of the Most High.

"America, covered with the mantle of grief, droops over the grave of her departed father, and the funeral

* It is more than probable that Washington himself would not have concurred in the justice of panegyric like the above. Such perfection does not fall to the lot of humanity.

pall of Columbia's pride, like a dark and ominous cloud, overspreads our land.

"Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets. O ! fleeting, transitory man, learn moderation and wisdom from a sense of thy fugitive state ! Now, indeed, is a time to weep : to restrain the bursting emotion, would be false fortitude. Let the heart seek its relief in free effusions of just and natural sorrow. WASHINGTON was our companion in all the vicissitudes of fortune ; he was the solace of his country ; he shared in all her joys, and he participated in all her misfortunes.

* * * * *

"Although our WASHINGTON was attached to life by an ample store of earthly felicity, and by all the natural feelings of humanity, yet he was raised above all weak and unmanly regret at parting with it. When Providence gave the signal for his removal, with composed resolution and an undisturbed mind, he bade adieu to the world : What Heaven had made necessary, WASHINGTON complied with cheerfully. Although he was interrupted in the midst of his settled designs ; although he was broken off in the midst of the wise plans he had formed of being useful to his country ; all these he left with resignation and tranquillity in the hands of the Father of mercies, to whom he had ever been accustomed to look up—that Divine Goodness which had watched over him in all the perils of life ; that all-wise Being, who had governed the world graciously and wisely before he existed, and who, he knew, would continue to govern it with equal benignity and wisdom, when he should be in it no more.

"The time of his departure was not of our choice,

nor his own ; but it was the time appointed by Him who cannot err. Honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time ; but wisdom is gray hairs to a man, and an unspotted life is old age. He who is unwilling to submit to death, when Heaven decrees it, deserves not to have lived. When our WASHINGTON beheld his friends and relatives around him, his heart melted but was not overpowered ; the retrospection of a virtuous life, the testimony of a good conscience, and a hope of future felicity, gave him composure and fortitude ; and in the midst of these agonies, when the dust is about to return to its dust, with firmness and dignity, he resigned the spirit to God who gave it. He had served his country with fidelity ; he had walked piously before his God ; he had completed his career of glory and virtue ; he departed with the blessings of the whole American people, and the tears of grateful millions have embalmed his memory.

How respectable is such a conclusion of human life ! thus to quit the stage, honoured and revered by his country, supported by the presence of his Creator, and enjoying, till the last moments of reflection, the pleasing thoughts that he had not lived in vain."—*Delivered at ALL SAINT'S PARISH, SOUTH CAROLINA, on the 22d of Feb. 1800. By DOCTOR JOSEPH BLYTH.*

"The name of WASHINGTON, connected with all that is most brilliant in the history of our country, and in human character, awakens sensations which agitate the fervors of youth, and warm the chill bosom of age. Transported to the times when America rose to repel her wrongs, and to claim her destinies, a scene of boundless grandeur bursts upon our view. Long had her filial

duty expostulated with parental injustice. Long did she deprecate the rupture of those ties which she had been proud of preserving and displaying. But her humble entreaty spurned, she transfers her grievances from the throne of earth to the throne of Heaven ; and precedes by an appeal to the God of judgment, her appeal to the sword of war.

"At issue now with the mistress of the seas ; unfurnished with equal means of defence ; the convulsive shock approaching ; and every evil omen passing before her, one step of rashness or of folly may seal her doom. In this accumulation of trouble, who shall command her confidence, and face her dangers, and conduct her cause ? God ; whose kingdom ruleth over all, prepares from afar the instruments best adapted to his purpose. By an influence which it would be as irrational to dispute as it is vain to scrutinize, he stirs up the spirit of the statesman and the soldier. Minds on which he has bestowed the elements of greatness, are brought, by his providence, into contact with exigencies which rouse them into action. It is in the season of effort and of peril that impotence disappears, and energy arises. The whirlwind which sweeps away the glow-worm, uncovers the fire of genius, and kindles it into a blaze, that irradiates at once both the zenith and the poles.

"But among the heroes who sprung from obscurity, when the college, the counting-room, and the plough teemed with 'thunderbolts of war,' none could, in all respects, meet the wants and the wishes of America. She required, in her leader, a man reared under her own eye ; who combined with distinguished talent, a character above suspicion ; who had added to his phy-

sical and moral qualities the experience of difficult service ; a man who should concentrate in himself the public affections and confidence ; who should know how to multiply the energies of every other man under his direction, and to make disaster itself the means of success—his arm a fortress, and his name a host. Such a man it were almost presumption to expect ; but such a man all-ruling Heaven had provided, and that man was WASHINGTON.

" Pre-eminent already in worth, he is summoned to the pre-eminence of toil and danger. Unallured by the charms of opulence ; unappalled by the hazard of a dubious warfare ; unmoved by the prospect of being, in the event of failure, the first and most conspicuous victim, he obeys the summons, because he loves his duty. The resolve is firm, for the probation is terrible. His theatre is a world ; his charge, a family of nations ; the interest staked in his hands, the prosperity of millions unborn in ages to come. His means, under aid from on high, the resources of his own breast, with the raw recruits and irregular supplies of distracted Colonies. O, crisis worthy of such a hero ! Followed by her little bands, her prayers and her tears, WASHINGTON espouses the quarrel of his country. As he moves on to the conflict, every heart palpitates, and every knee trembles. The foe, alike valiant and veteran, presents no easy conquest, nor ought inviting, but to those who have consecrated their blood to the public weal. The Omnipotent, who allots great enjoyment as the meed of great exertions, had ordained that America should be free, but that she should learn to value the blessing by the price of its acquisition. She shall go to a 'wealthy place,' but her way is 'through

fire and through water.' Many a generous chief must bleed, and many a gallant youth sink at his side, into the surprised grave ; the field must be heaped with slain ; the purple torrent roll, ere the angel of peace descend with his olive. It is here, amid devastation, and horror, and death, that WASHINGTON must reap his laurels, and engrave his trophies on the shield of immortality True, he suffered, in his turn, repulse and even defeat. It was both natural and needful. Unchequered with reverse, his story would have resembled rather the fictions of romance, than the truth of narrative ; and had he been neither defeated nor repulsed, we had never seen all the grandeur of his soul. He arrayed himself in fresh honours by that which ruins even the great—vicissitude. He could not only subdue an enemy, but, what is infinitely more, he could subdue misfortune. With an equanimity which gave temperance to victory, and cheerfulness to disaster, he balanced the fortunes of the State. In the face of hostile prowess ; in the midst of mutiny and treason ; surrounded with astonishment, irresolution, and despondence, WASHINGTON remained erect, unmoved, invincible. Whatever ills America might endure in maintaining her rights, she exulted that she had nothing to fear from her Commander-in-chief. The result justified her most sanguine presages. That invisible hand which girded him at first, continued to guard and to guide him through the successive stages of the revolution. Nor did he account it a weakness to bend the knee in homage to its supremacy, and prayer for its direction. 'This was the armour of WASHINGTON : this the salvation of his country.

"The hope of her reduction at length abandoned ; her

war of liberty brought, in the establishment of independence, to that honourable conclusion for which it had been undertaken, the hour arrived when he was to resign the trust which he had accepted with diffidence. To a mind less pure and elevated, the situation of America would have furnished the pretext, as well as the means, of military usurpation. Talents equal to daring enterprise; the derangement of public affairs; unbounded popularity; and the devotion of a suffering army, would have been to every other, a strong, and to almost any other, an irresistible temptation. In WASHINGTON they did not produce even the pain of self-denial. They added the last proof of his disinterestedness; and imposed on his country the last obligation to gratitude. Impenetrable by corrupting influence; deaf to honest but erring solicitation; irreconcilable with every disloyal sentiment, he urged the necessity, and set the example of laying down, in peace, arms assumed for the common defence.

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“ Singular phenomenon! WASHINGTON becomes a private citizen. He exchanges supreme command for the tranquillity of domestic life. Go, incomparable man! to adorn no less the civic virtues, than the splendid achievements of the field: Go, rich in the consciousness of thy high deserts: Go, with the admiration of the world, with the plaudit of millions, and the orisons of millions more for thy temporal and thine eternal bliss.

“ The glory of WASHINGTON seemed now complete. While the universal voice proclaimed, that he might decline, with honour, every future burden, it was a wish and an opinion almost as universal, that he would not jeopardize the fame which he had so nobly won. Had

personal considerations swayed his mind, this would have been his own decision. But, untutored in the philosophy of the age, he had not learned to separate the maxims of wisdom from the injunctions of duty. His soul was not debased by that moral cowardice which fears to risk popularity for the general good. Having assisted in the formation of an efficient government, which he had refused to dictate or enforce at the mouth of his cannon, he was ready to contribute the weight of his character to insure its effect. And his country rejoiced in an opportunity of testifying, that, much as she loved and trusted others, she still loved and trusted him most. Hailed, by her unanimous suffrage, the pilot of the State, he approaches the awful helm, and grasping it with equal firmness and ease, demonstrates that *forms* of power cause no embarrassment to him.

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“The reappearance of WASHINGTON as a statesman, excited the conjecture of the old world, and the anxiety of the new. His martial fame had fixed a criterion, however inaccurate, of his civil administration. Military genius does neither confer nor imply political ability. Whatever merit may be attached to the faculty of arranging the principles, and prosecuting the details of an army, it must be conceded that vaster comprehensions belong to the statesman. Ignorance, vanity, the love of paradox, and the love of mischief, affecting to sneer at the ‘mystery of government,’ have, indeed, taught that common sense and common honesty are his only requisites. The nature of things and the experience of every people, in every age, teach a different doctrine. America had multitudes who possessed both those qualities, but

she had only one WASHINGTON. To adjust, in the best compromise, a thousand interfering views, so as to effect the greatest good of the whole with the least inconvenience to the parts; to curb the dragon of faction by means which insure the safety of public liberty; to marshal opinion and prejudice among the auxiliaries of the law; in fine, to touch the main-spring of national agency, so as to preserve the equipoise of its powers, and to make the feeblest movements of the extremities accord with the impulse at the centre, is only for genius of the highest order. To excel equally in military and political science, has been the praise of a few chosen spirits, among whom, with a proud preference, we enrol the Father of our Country.

“It was the fortune of WASHINGTON, to direct transactions of which the repetition is hardly within the limits of human possibilities. When he entered on his first Presidency, all the interests of the continent were vibrating through the arch of political uncertainty. The departments of the new government were to be marked out, and filled up: foreign relations to be regulated; the physical and moral strength of the nation to be organized; and that at a time, when scepticism in politics, no less than *in religion and morals*, was preparing, throughout Europe, to spring the mine of revolution and ruin. In discharging his first duties, that same intelligent, cautious, resolute procedure, which had rendered him the bulwark of war, now exhibited him, the guardian of peace. Appropriation of talent to employment, is one of the deep results of political sagacity. And in his selection of men for office, WASHINGTON displayed a knowledge of character and of business, *a contempt*

of favouritism, and a devotion to the public welfare, which permitted the *General* to be rivalled only by the *President*.

“Under such auspices, the fruit and the pledge of divine blessing, America rears her head, and recovers her vigour. Agriculture laughs on the land : Commerce ploughs the wave : Peace rejoices her at home ; and she grows into respect abroad. Ah ! too happy to progress without interruption. The explosions of Europe bring new vexations to her, and new trials, and new glories, to her WASHINGTON. Vigilant and faithful, he hears the tempest roar from afar, warns her of its approach, and prepares for averting its dangers. Black are the heavens and angry the billows, and narrow and perilous the passage. But his composure, dignity, and firmness, are equal to the peril. Unseduced by fraud ; unterrified by threat ; unawed by clamour, he holds on his steady way, and again he saves his country. With less decision on the part of WASHINGTON, a generous but mistaken ardour would have plunged her into the whirlpool, and left her till this hour, the sport of the contending elements. Americans! bow to that magnanimous policy, which protected your dearest interests at the hazard of incurring your displeasure. It was thus that WASHINGTON proved himself, not in the cant of the day, but in the procurement of substantial good, the servant of the people.” *Delivered in the City of New-York, Feb. 22, 1800; by Rev. John M. Mason, A.M.*

“Who shall delineate a just portrait of that character, which was perfect in all its relations—or in what language shall the story of that life be told, whose every action was above all praise ?

“To confer the just meed of eulogium on this inestimable character—to entwine the blended glories of the Hero and the Statesman—with them to mingle the *milder radiance of religion and morals*, would require an inspiration, not only of those sentiments, which pervade every class of men in this extensive nation, but of those opinions, which his unequalled worth has impressed throughout the world.

“Of legislators, to whose labours and honours he was associated by all that was useful and dignified.

“Of armies, to whom he was endeared by every obligation of gratitude and glory.

“Of a people, by whom he was regarded as their father, guide, and protector.

“Of the holy ministers of religion, by whom he was beloved and admired.

“Of the wise and just of all nations, of whom he was the ornament and the example.

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“Such was the triumph of patriotism, and such the dignified completion of his public character.

“With the accomplishments of the hero, and the attributes of the statesman, we are now to connect the interesting theme of domestic life, and the useful virtues of his private character.

“Favoured of heaven, he was blest in the most endeared relation of human society. The amiable, and much respected partner of his happiness, enjoyed his affection and esteem, and was worthy to participate the honours of his exalted station.

“The practice of his filial piety, which had been distinguished at an early age, was continued until the death

of his surviving parent, with unabated tenderness and respect.

"His fraternal love was exemplary, as it was sincere; and the munificent provisions of his will, attest the affection, which he bore to his kindred, and the relatives of his family.

"Nor was this munificence bounded by the limits of consanguinity. The interests of freedom and science were anxiously consulted and most generously advanced.

"Age and infirmity were the objects of his kind regard. And the instruction of youth, was connected with the emancipation of the bondsman, as a means of protecting his rights, and rendering him safe and useful to society.

"The friend, and the stranger were received with cordial welcome at his hospitable mansion—and his beneficence to his neighbours was returned with the most affectionate attachment.

"Such were the outlines of his domestic life." *Pro-nounced in the CITY OF PHILADELPHIA. Feb. 22, 1800, BY MAJOR WILLIAM JACKSON, AID-DE-CAMP to WASHINGTON.*

"The Providence of God over nations, has often been remarkably apparent in the characters he has prepared for their deliverance, their safety, and defence. The circumstances in which God raised up Moses, mark him peculiarly as his own; and the talents wherewith he was endowed, point him out as the chosen instrument to deliver his ancient people from Egyptian bondage. David was afterwards raised up for *their* glory; and Cyrus anointed for *their* restoration from the Babylonish

captivity. And is it possible not to recognize in our illustrious citizen, now departed, the immediate hand of heaven? When we consider the various exigencies and circumstances of America, for fifty years past—hardly can we imagine talents more fitted to these, both in war and peace, than those which distinguished and adorned his character.

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“Such was the man, whose death we now deplore, that, ‘take him for all in all, we ne’er shall look upon his like again.’ He was a professor of Christianity, and a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He always acknowledged the superintendence of Divine Providence; and from his inimitable writings, we find him a warm advocate for a sound morality, founded on the principles of religion, the only basis on which it can stand. Nor did I ever meet with the most distant insinuation, that his private life was not a comment on his own admired page. And from the equanimity, fortitude, and composure, with which he met the stroke of death, we are led to the consolatory conclusion, that his faith was more than speculative. *Delivered in DINWIDDIE COUNTY, VIRGINIA, BY REV. DEVEREUX JARRATT.*

“In the private character of WASHINGTON, we find the delight, the ornament, the wonder of man! Prompt at every call of duty, in whatever sphere or station, he exhibits a uniform pattern of morality, industry and economy. Feelingly alive to all the tender charities of our nature, he always clothed the naked, and filled the hungry with good things. He soothed affliction, commiserated misfortune, raised up the bowed down, dissatisfied

pated the dark clouds of the disconsolate, or gilded their gloom with the calm sun-shine of peace.

* * * * *

“Great as he was in life, he was still more sublimely grand and majestic in death. See him on his dying couch—calm and dignified in his distress, he has fought the good fight, and death to him has no terrors ! With his own firm hand he closes his eyes—and is gone ! His form is now no more the terror of the valiant. Dim and feeble is the Chief, who travelled in strength and brightness before. He rests in the dark and narrow house of the tomb. The feeble will find his bow at home, but they will not be able to bend it. Fallen is the arm of battle ! Deep is the sleep of the dead ; low their pillow of dust ; damp and cold the couch of their repose. When ! O ! when will it be morn in the grave, to bid the slumberer awake ! Farewell, thou first in every field, farewell ! The field shall behold thee no more ; no more the dark wood be lightened with the splendour of thy steel. Thou hast left no son ; but the song shall preserve thy name. Future times shall hear of thee. The sons of Columbia shall be sad, and the tear of the young virgin will fall ! and well may we weep.—

“Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus,
“Tam cari capit is ?”—

“But, my countrymen ! while we are paying this last sad tribute of respect to the ashes of our dear departed Chief ; while we entomb his relics in the earth, and inurn his memory in our hearts ;—let us not forget to emulate his virtues in our lives. The husband, the parent, the friend, the neighbour, the citizen, the Chris-

tian, or the man, can never deserve higher eulogy than this ;—that his deportment, in his appropriate sphere, resembles that of a WASHINGTON.

“ A friend to our holy religion, he was ever guided by its pious doctrines, and had embraced the tenets of the Episcopal church ; yet his charity, unbounded as his immortal mind, led him equally to respect every denomination of the followers of Jesus. Meek and distrustful of himself, he was liberal and candid to others. Superior to the little prejudices which subsist among different sects,—prejudices which deform the beauty and destroy the harmony of the religious world, he loved, and wept, and prayed—for all.” *Pronounced at OXFORD, Mass. Jan. 15, 1800. By J. DUNHAM, A.M. Captain 16th U. S. Regiment.*

“ It was to be expected that a man so capable of governing others, would be able to govern himself. We are told, that his passions, by nature strong and irritable, were brought by discipline, into complete subjection ; so that he, whom original constitution disposed to turbulence and vindictiveness, appeared the pattern of equanimity and forbearance. What modesty, joined with greatness, distinguished this extraordinary man ! Alive to character, keenly sensible to virtuous praise, the plaudits of a nation and a world, were yet never known to elicit from him one spark of vanity, or to raise one emotion of pride. The virtues of our departed friend were crowned by piety. He is known to have been habitually devout. To Christian institutions he gave the countenance of his example ; and no one could express more fully his sense of the Providence of God, and the dependence of man. . . . When we acknowledge God in the talents,

virtues, and services of the departed Chief, let us not overlook the hand of Providence in his prosperous fortune, displayed in the many favourable incidents of his life, in the constancy of the public affection and confidence, and in his death." *Delivered in BOSTON, Dec. 29, 1799.* BY REV. J. T. KIRKLAND.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON.

THE various sketches contained in the foregoing chapter, will enable the attentive reader to form a conception of the character of Washington, in the main, accurate and just. That a strong partiality guided the pen of the writers may be readily admitted. The feeling was alike honourable to both the parties. It was a tribute justly due, and herein freely paid, to virtue seldom surpassed. Few persons have lived in our world, whose endowments of every kind were more worthy of admiration, or whose services better deserved a grateful remembrance, than those by which the noble subject of their eulogy had been distinguished and adorned.

The mental and moral constitution of Washington was of the most excellent kind. He possessed faculties and affections in such peculiar combination, as to place him almost alone in that respect.

His mind was of the very best order. The structure thereof was plain, but on a scale of unusual strength and greatness. Its basis seems to have been *strong common sense*. To this was superadded a discernment

clear and penetrating ; a memory of great tenacity ; and a judgment as sound as man ever possessed. Imagination had but little place in his mind. His materials of thought were first truths, together with such facts and events in life as were worthy of attention. These he carefully marked and compared with one another, noting their relations with a cool and enlightened comprehension ; viewing them in all their aspects and bearings, weighing them in the balances of the mind, till conducted to the safest and soundest conclusions of reason.

He was alike happy in his moral constitution. Here the elements were mixed up in the finest and most admirable proportions. They were in perfect harmony with the higher powers of the mind. The equipoise was rare and excellent. From hence, in a great degree, arose the force and effectiveness of his intellectual efforts. The action of his mind encountered no hindrance from the waywardness of his affections, or the turbulence of passion. These never cast obstacles in the way of his judgment, or embarrassed its decisions by a conflict between inclination and conviction. With feelings unusually healthy, his understanding, ordinarily, had free and unimpeded course. Unbiased by mere emotions of the breast, he always regarded objects presented for his consideration, with a steady eye and serene contemplation. No delusive vapour ascending from a selfish bosom, shut out from his mind the bright rays of truth. His perceptions were clear, because in him were united a sound head, with an honest and single heart.

The moral qualities in him were mingled and held

together in a combination so admirable, that they all tended with the utmost harmony to the formation of a character so remarkable. He united in himself affections, dispositions and tempers, which are never looked for in the same person, being regarded in the light of antagonist and contending qualities. They are often found to exist separately, but not unitedly, proving in their ordinary operation, destructive of each other. But in him they appeared to exist in a concord, as complete, as it was marvellous. Each filled with energy its own assigned sphere, whilst the whole were promptly combined, when the union was necessary for the effectuation of great and important objects.

The unequivocal developments of his character, exhibit him as possessed at the same time of such opposite qualities as courage and caution ; of ardour and self-possession ; of decision and moderation ; of self-esteem and humility. He had modesty without diffidence ; benevolence without ostentation ; humanity without weakness. In him frugality was unattended by parsimony ; temperance by austerity ; the love of praise, by the fear of censure. He was dignified, yet condescending ; had gravity without moroseness ; seriousness without gloom. Quick in discerning defects in men, he was yet kind to all ; alive to offence and insult, he was tolerant and ready to forgive. He was of incorruptible integrity ; had the highest and purest sense of justice ; his truthfulness was rigid ; and his faithfulness to principles and engagements, unwavering. He loved peace, yet was ready for war, when duty called. He was patriotic without ambition ; industrious without covetousness. He was affectionate to his family

and kindred ; kind to his neighbours; obliging to friends; courteous to associates; compassionate to servants, and merciful to animals. By nature he had an excitable temper, and a mind subject at times to fierce illapses of passion. When the severity of the trials to which his patience was often exposed, is considered, the wonder is, not that he should have been sometimes carried away by them, but that he should have so frequently resisted them with success. Under many and great provocations, he was usually calm, calling in to his aid that self-command, of which experience had taught him the necessity, and conscience the propriety. Few persons so constituted as he was in this respect, have done themselves, or others, so little injury thereby.*

The personal and domestic habits of this remarkable man, were in perfect keeping with the rest of his life. In them is seen the same fixed and settled principles of conduct, which governed him in the higher spheres of action. So happily do they accord with the more public and prominent displays of his character, that they serve to present him to the view,

“Full orbed, in his whole round of rays complete.”

He usually arose from his bed at 4 o'clock in the morn-

* The following occurrence will serve to furnish an example of his habitual self-command.—Returning to his house one day, from a ride over his farm, on arriving at the yard-gate, he found his overseer in the act of chastising severely one of his servants. Indignant at the sight, as being in the mode or degree contrary to his orders, he dismounted hastily, and advancing towards the overseer with his horse-whip in his hand, the affrighted man retreated towards the fence, exclaiming, “Remember your character, General; remember your character.” The General immediately stopped, and reprimanding him for disobeying his commands, admonished him to beware of again correcting his people in a manner so cruel.

ing, summer and winter. From the chamber he went to his study, with a candle in his hand, remaining there a longer or shorter time, according to the season. As to his employment there, no room for doubt exists. It was certainly his time for devotional exercises. The weather permitting, he rode out daily upon his farm, inspecting the agricultural operations of his managers and servants. When enaged at home he never suffered himself to be interrupted by visitors, except on very special occasions. But his business being over, he gave himself with cheerfulness to their society.

In his enjoyments, he was very temperate. His breakfast usually consisted of two or three small hoe cakes, with honey; and as many cups of tea. He generally dined on a single dish, drinking after dinner seldom more than two glasses of wine, and finishing the repast with a few nuts, of which he was especially fond. Business again employed him in the afternoon. He drank his favourite beverage, tea, before sun-down, spent the evening with his family, and retired uniformly when he had no company, to his study at nine o'clock. There he usually spent an hour before retiring to rest.

Mrs. Washington sometimes went into his study during the day, when he was there. He would then lay down his book or his pen, and well-pleased, yield himself to the charm of her pleasantry, or to any communications of business, until she thought proper to leave him.

On Sunday mornings, as the hour for church approached, he was accustomed to go into his wife's chamber, and sit there till she was ready to go.

He was habitually grave and silent. He seldom laughed—never aloud. When he observed a disposition in any one to excite him by jokes or humorous stories, he was immovable, except in very select circles.

He was habitually neat in his dress, but plain. He seldom used ardent spirit. He never used tobacco in any shape, always expressing a great aversion to it.

He was kind and considerate to his servants. Nor was he neglectful of his cattle, being always careful to provide for the best shelter, and abundance of food.

He was pleased with an opportunity of joining with children in their innocent games. This he did, sometimes, when through awe of him, the little folks were ill at ease.*

An interesting question here occurs, and in a work like this confessedly demands, a fair and impartial investigation. Whilst acknowledging the rare endowments and excellent virtues of this eminent man, there will, and ought to be, an inquiry respecting the source of those singular virtues which appeared in him, adorning his life with a lustre so unusual. Whence, then, did his many virtues proceed? Had they their origin in the unassisted powers of nature, or in the higher energies of

* His fondness for children was a marked peculiarity in him. The writer once heard an old gentleman mention the following simple instance thereof. In the year 1794, when the troops were about to march from Carlisle, Pa. against the western insurgents, he was one morning about to review them in the streets of that town. As he passed along on foot, amidst the busy hum of preparation, he met with a squad of little boys huddling together, and waiting anxiously for the parade. Conceiving them to be in danger where they stood, he stopped amongst them, and patting one or two of them on the head, he told them to go to their homes, or they would be run over by the horses.

divine grace? He was blessed beyond a doubt with eminent advantages by nature. But can so many signal excellencies of character be referred solely to that barren and unkindly source? Does human nature, professedly rejecting superior aid, ever exhibit such singular traits of goodness? We believe that it does not. The concession would be utterly at variance with the doctrine of man's acknowledged state as a fallen creature, sinful and depraved in all his powers and affections.

To suppose that such qualities spring from the unaided sufficiency of human nature, is to contradict the testimony of experience, as well as of the word of God. Their existence implies a strength of principle and power of self-control, which never have been displayed in the history of mankind, except as fruits of the Divine Agency on the soul. And it is certain that the inspired Volume ever refers such results in the human character to the power of Him "from whom every good gift and every perfect gift descends." A corresponding view is afforded by the biographer of that valiant soldier of the cross, Henry Martyn, when he says in reference to the virtues of that holy man,—"As these extraordinary and seemingly contradictory qualities, were not imparted to him, but by the Spirit of God, so they were not strengthened and matured but in the diligent use of the ordinary means of grace. Prayer and the Holy Scriptures were those wells of salvation out of which he drew daily the living water. The Sabbath, also, that sacred portion of time set apart for holy purposes in Paradise itself, was so employed by him, as to prove frequently a Paradise to his soul on earth, and as certainly prepared him for an endless state of spiritual enjoyment hereafter." The

peculiar and excellent virtues distinguishing this favoured servant of God, could not be ascribed to any other source, than the grace of the Holy Spirit—grace now freely bestowed on him, and then in new and fresh supplies, as he abounded in the use of the appointed means. Whilst there was also in the illustrious subject of these pages, qualities which may well be styled “extraordinary and seemingly contradictory,” the presumption as to a common source in both cases, is upheld by the fact of their concurrence in the use of the same gracious appointments. Of Washington, the known habits of his life justify us in saying, that—“ Prayer and the Holy Scriptures were those wells of salvation, out of which he drew, daily, the living water.” Nothing is better ascertained than the reality of his devotional feelings and habits. His uniform practice of private prayer, may be traced from an early period of his life, down to the close thereof. With the Holy Scriptures too, did he cultivate a sacred intimacy. The Bible which he owned and used, is now in the library of Mount Vernon, having his name written therein by himself. Survivors have said that he diligently searched the Holy Volume. Nor did he fail in a proper respect for the Lord’s Day; “that sacred portion of time set apart for holy purposes in Paradise itself.” He was always a strict observer of the Sabbath. It is not known that he ever wantonly violated it in a single instance. In no one duty of his life, can a more fixed purpose of obedience be traced than in reference to this obligation.

Thus distinguished by many rare traits of excellence, and professedly regarding religion as the means of virtue and ground of hope to man, is there not good reason

for ascribing the singular graces which adorned him, to that Divine Source, pointed out by the word of God, and relied on by good men in every age.

"There is the best ground for believing, that his religious creed was in accordance with that of the universal church of God. In his letter to the State Governors, before quoted by us, he expressly, though incidentally, declared his faith in Christ, as a Divine Person. He there styles him the 'Divine Author of our blessed religion.' In this single tenet we have an important key to his general views of evangelical truth. The Doctrine of a Divine nature in Christ, involves the belief of his pre-existence, of his incarnation, of his sacrifice, of the descent of the Holy Ghost—as of the fall, corruption and helpless state of man, together with the means of his restoration, by repentance towards God and faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of men. Where the Divinity of the Son of God was an acknowledged principle of the creed, it is hard to conceive how its cognate and correlative truths could have been denied their proper place in the system. That Washington did not indulge the habit of talking or writing much on religious subjects, is well known; and therefore, we do not readily find any very minute account of his faith. In his peculiar situation, as the man of the nation, he was contented to avow his belief in the main truths of Revelation, and leave others to conclude in favour of his acquiescence in the rest. He gave also one other evidence of his orthodoxy, which must be regarded as of peculiar weight by those who understand correctly the laws of his character. This proof is supplied by the fact of his long and punctual attendance on the public worship of a

Church, whose offices and devotional services abound in the most ample and explicit references to evangelical principles and doctrines. All the cardinal truths of the gospel have so marked and prominent a place in the formularies of that Church, as to have gained for her an honourable distinction, on that very ground, among the other religious denominations of Protestant Christendom. On the public ministrations of this Church, did the Father of his Country attend through life, with a conscientious punctuality and reverence. And did he thus act without meaning, thought, or design? Did he cherish no religious or devotional feeling in going to the House of God? Did he do so, without a due understanding, and full comprehension of the particular truths and doctrines there recognized and inculcated? Would he have been thus uniform and persevering in his attendance on a worship, which was not understood, and with which he felt no sympathy? Much more may it be asked, if he would have been thus constant in attending on services which he not only did not approve, but which, if objected to at all by him, must have been so on the most serious grounds? For in an upright mind there can be no neutrality respecting the fundamental verities of Christianity. Such a person must either approve them as true, or he must reject them as false. If they are false, he is in honour bound to refuse them; whilst on the other hand, if they are true, he is equally bound to receive them with humility and reverence. And were they not so received in the case now under consideration? Did they not receive his solemn subscription and assent, when he gave his countenance to

public, prescribed services, with which these truths were mixed up and incorporated throughout.

Notwithstanding these strong, and as we must think, satisfactory indications of a mind divinely taught and guided, it is proper that we should here guard against exaggerated, and unsuitable inferences, respecting the degree of estimation in which we would have the religious character of Washington, held. It is not meant, by any thing we have said, to imply the entire perfection of his Christian character, or to set him up as a pure model of Christian piety.

This is an honour which belongs only to a chosen few of our race. Whilst we are not assured of the existence of any principle or habit in him, affecting his title to the name of a real Christian, we do not contend that his spiritual attainments were of the highest order, or that he, of necessity, excelled as much here, as he did in the other departments of life. Without intending to imply any singular defect, or thinking that there was in him that which requires a special apology, it may be said that few men have been placed in circumstances more unfriendly to the cultivation of Christian virtues—circumstances which, duly considered, will render it more a matter of wonder that he should have been what he was, rather than that he should fail to be what he was not. Much of his life was spent amidst the confusion of camps and the contentions of cabinets. He was, early in life, thrown upon his own resources, and usually surrounded by persons having little regard for religion, and indeed hostile to it, as an intruder on their beloved pleasures and chosen occupations. And we are constrained to add that the Church

herself, did not in every instance then impart that effectual aid to her members, which the most pious and established of them find necessary in every age, to their spiritual comfort and edification. The day in which he lived was a dark one, religiously regarded; and by no means distinguished for such public ministrations as prove most powerful to purify the heart and reform the life. To these unfavourable accidents, should be added the consideration of the closing years of his life being spent in the midst of a triumphant and reigning infidelity. The French revolution had foamed out from its boiling abysses, this, among other foul and wicked spirits. With a seducing aspect, the demon carried in its principles the fatal seed of crimes and miseries. Multitudes however were charmed with its beautiful exterior. It was held to be the offspring of Philosophy and hand-maid of Liberty. Whoever then would be wise and free, must, in order to the end, eat the fruit of this tree of knowledge. Many of the great and lettered in America, had embraced its doctrines, and were loud in proclaiming its excellence. Vain and deluded, they thought the entertainment of its dogmas, essential as the proof of genius, as well as of patriotism—that none but free-thinkers in religion, could be wise or patriotic.

Amidst all these disadvantages assailing him from opposite and discordant points, Washington was sound in faith and upright in his course. However discouraged by foes or unaided by friends, he was still the same; fixed in his principles and uniform in their expression. And so far was he from yielding to the sophistry of the infidel philosophy referred to, or fearing the ridicule which attended the profession of a contrary faith, that

he never was more decided or unequivocal in his public declarations of belief and confidence in Christianity, than when the evil was at its greatest height. It was at this very period he gave to his views, that distinct and audible utterance contained in his "Farewell Address," solemnly recording, in the face of the world, his profound conviction of the necessity of religion, and the dangerous tendency of infidelity. To what but a deep-rooted persuasion of the divine source of Christianity, and to principles derived from its sacred influences, can we ascribe so much unwavering consistency in word and deed, amidst circumstances so calculated to shake the firmest mind. The gallant ship must be fast-anchored, indeed, when even the raging tempest cannot swing her from her moorings, or drive her from the course leading to the haven where she would be.

Without insisting then on the claims of Washington to an unusual piety, we may still hold him up as one who sincerely believed in the truth of Revelation, and bore a practical testimony to its necessity and value. If this end is gained, our chief object has been secured. It was not to exalt the individual by displaying his religious excellence, that the writer addressed himself to a labour now drawing to a close. The desire, indeed, was not absent, of adding to his well-earned wreath of worldly fame, the imperishable diadem of religion, sparkling with gems of purest lustre ; but the honour of the Saviour and the glory of his kingdom are dearer objects still. Now, as of old, let the offerings of the wise men and the great be brought to him, and their costly treasures spread at his feet. If he does not need their gifts he will yet kindly receive them, and honour those who thus honour

him. In the light of his favour they shall shine with no earthly splendour, but share a deathless fame never known to such, however exalted for a season, as lightly esteem and dishonour him by a denial of his glory, and disobedience of his laws. These often shine with the brilliancy of a blazing meteor—astonishing and delighting the world for a season with their brightness ; but they soon go out, and leave a darker night behind them. In their corruptions and vices were mingled the fatal elements of decay ; and a speedier or later overthrow is the sure, the inevitable result of causes thus inseparably blended with the moral constitution of man.

“ Not so, when diadem’d with rays divine,
Touch’d with the flame that breaks from virtue’s shrine,
Her priestless muse forbids the good to die,
And opes the temple of eternity.”

In a prevailing reverence for virtue among men, a universal respect is secured to the righteous, and the superadded favour of God, makes their memory to flourish late, and unborn generations to rise up and call them blessed. Here have we, it is conceived, the secret of his towering renown, whose piety and virtues we record ; and in seeking to perpetuate and exalt whose fame, by weaving around his brow the unfading crown of genuine religion, we are but adding another star to the radiant crown of the Redeemer, reflecting another brilliant beam upon the glory of God, to mingle with the fountain, and enhance its immortal splendour.

A P P E N D I X .

ALTHOUGH the author considers it certain that Washington did partake of the Lord's Supper, at certain periods of his life, yet he knows that many desire satisfactory information and assurance on this point.

Among the aged persons residing in the neighbourhood of Mount Vernon, and the descendants of such others as have recently gone down to the grave, there is but one opinion in regard to the fact of his having been a communicant in Pohick Church, previous to the revolutionary war. The writer himself had it from a respectable lady, that she once heard her mother unqualifiedly declare, that General Washington was a communicant in that Church, in the vicinity of which she had her residence, and on the services of which she attended. A living grand-daughter of the Rev. Lee Massey, rector of Mount Vernon Parish, for some years after Washington's marriage—says, her grandfather on a specified occasion, told her the same thing in answer to a particular inquiry on the subject.

That he partook of the communion at Morristown, N. Jersey, during the encampment of the army there, in 1780, has long been an accredited tradition. Some few, indeed, have been doubtful, but it would seem without any good ground. That the account as generally

stated, is in the main correct, let the following communications attest. They were written in answer to letters requesting information on the point to which they refer. The high respectability of the writers, will gain for their testimony, the utmost confidence of those who know them.

“ MORRISTOWN, March 26, 1836.

“ Rev. and dear Sir,

“ Yours was duly received, and ought perhaps to have been sooner answered ; but I have delayed a little hoping to make my statements the stronger by additional testimony.

“ I do not learn that any living witness to the fact in question can be found in this vicinity, though it is believed there are such. I have called on Mr. Wm. Johnes, a son of the Rev. Dr. Johnes, to whom you refer. By reason of his great age, he can say nothing upon the subject, but Mrs. Johnes, who is much younger, gives it as an unquestioned family tradition, that General Washington wrote the note in question, and partook of the sacrament as it has been commonly reported. Mrs. Johnes refers directly to her father-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Johnes. The family are still in possession of the orchard, and point out the very tree under which the sacrament was then administered, the church being at that time occupied as a hospital. The fact in question is regarded as certain by the older residents of the place, beyond all room for doubt.

“ It is thought by some, that the Rev. Dr. Richards, of Auburn Theological Seminary, New-York, is in possess-

ion of the very note, written by General Washington to Dr. Johnes, relative to his admission to the communion.

“Respectfully, Sir, I am truly yours,
“ASA S. COLTON.”

The following is from Dr. Richards, the gentleman referred to in the foregoing letter :

“AUBURN, 14th April, 1836.

“Dear Sir,

“Yours of the 5th has just been received. I can only say in reply, that I never saw the note to which you allude,—but have no doubt that such a note was addressed by Washington to Dr. Johnes, of Morristown, on the occasion to which you refer. I became a resident in that town in the summer of 1794, while Dr. Johnes was still living—and was afterwards the regular pastor of that congregation for about fourteen years. The report that Washington did actually receive the communion from the hands of Dr. Johnes, was universally current during that period, and so far as I know, never contradicted. I have often heard it from the members of Dr. Johnes’ family, while they added that a note was addressed by Washington to their father, requesting the privilege, and stating that though connected with the Episcopal Church, he felt a freedom and desire to commune with those of another name, if acceptable to them. Very often too have I heard this circumstance spoken of as evidence of that great man’s liberality, as well as piety.

“There were hundreds at Morristown during the time of which I speak, who might if the fact of Washington’s receiving the communion there be true, have witnessed that fact—and who would not be slow to contradict it, on the supposition that it had not been witnessed by them

or their friends. It is barely possible, that such a report might be put in circulation through error or mistake, and afterwards gain credit by time; but in my judgment in no degree probable, when all the circumstances of the case are duly considered. The family of Dr. Johnes, sons and daughters, were of mature age, and some of them active members of society, when this note is said to have been written, and the fact to which it related took place. It is scarcely possible that they should have been deceived; and their characters are too well known to suppose them willing to deceive others.

“Very respectfully yours,
“JAMES RICHARDS.”

The following extract is from a volume of sermons recently published by Dr. Chapman, of Portland, Maine. It is here added, because of the authenticity and conclusiveness of the testimony furnished by it, on the subject before us.

“He (George Washington,) lived at a period when there were less verbal pretensions on the subject of religion, than have become exceeding fashionable in modern times, and the consequence is, that in his life, we have more of the substance than the parade of piety. Still he was an open and avowed follower of the Lord of glory. From the lips of a lady of undoubted veracity, yet living, and a worthy communicant of the Church, I received the interesting fact, that soon after the close of the revolutionary war, *she saw him* partake of the consecrated symbols of the body and blood of Christ, in Trinity Church, in the city of New-York.”

THE END.

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